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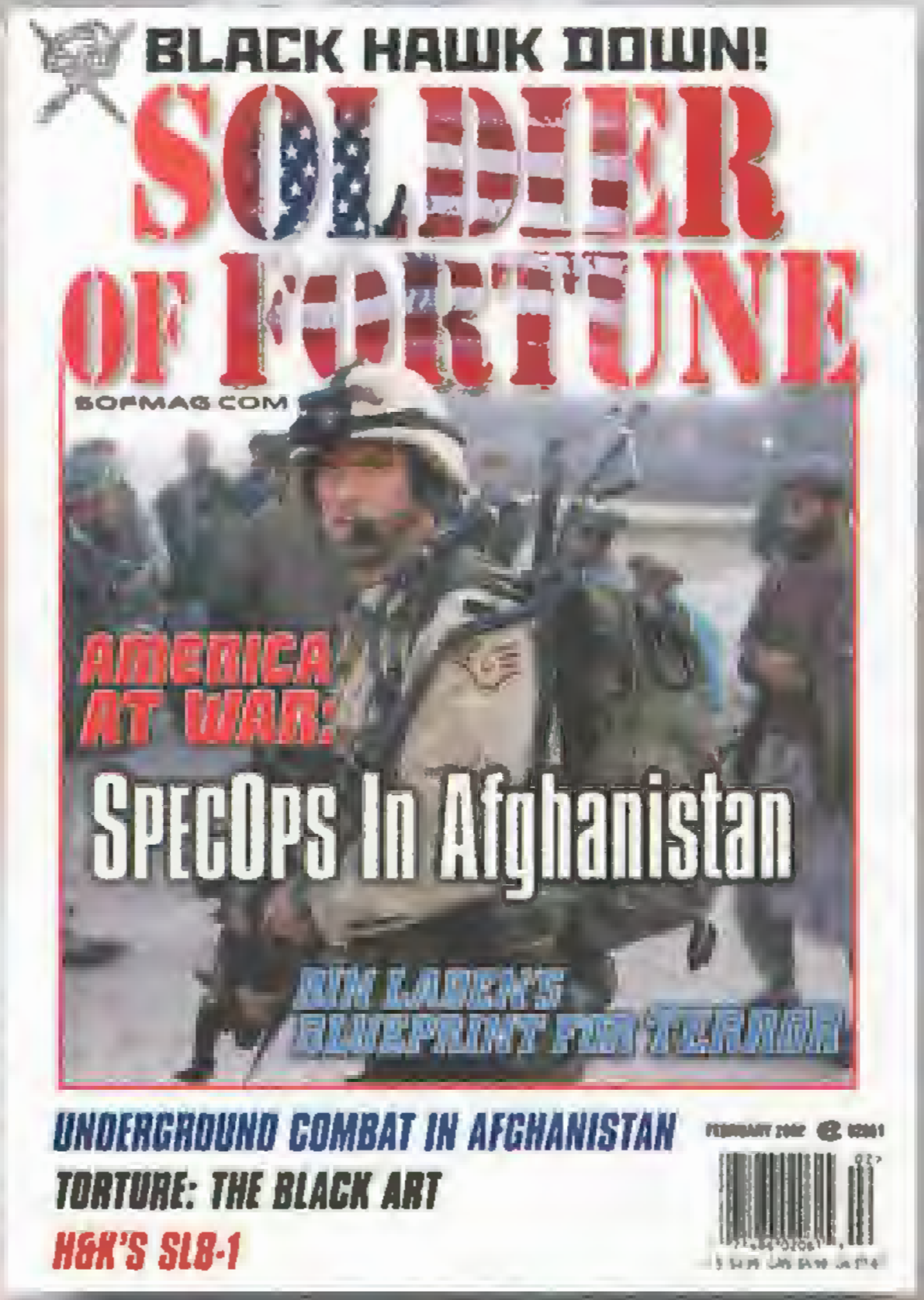

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Special Operations Equipment/soegear.com

On the Cover
A U.S. Marine from 1st Recon Battalion outfitted by Special Operations Equipment gets ready to head out on patrol. The headgear is an attempt to blend with the locals.
See story on page 50

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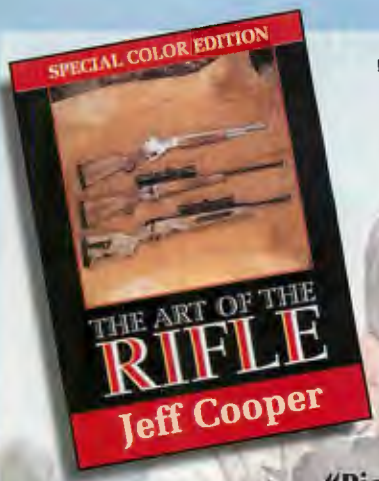

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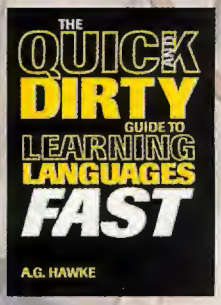

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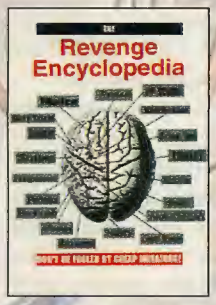

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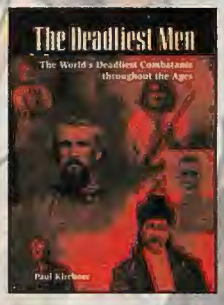

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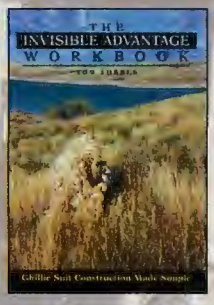

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Using simple procedures and economical materials, Forbes guides readers through the manufacture of several different kinds of ghillie suit, including the garment used by the British military during World War II. Includes tips on materials and techniques as well as valuable information on stalking methods. 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, softcover, photos, 80 pp.

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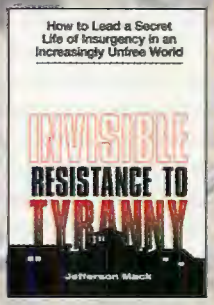

INVISIBLE RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY

How to Lead a Secret Life of Insurgency in an Increasingly Unfree World

by Jefferson Mack

Invisible Resistance to Tyranny outlines a program for secret freedom fighters who want to act individually and independently to ignore, evade, resist and thwart abusive government power. With this information, there is no need to protest in the streets, go on hunger strikes or take up arms. 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, softcover, 152 pp.

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Command Guidance

BY JOHN R. LOTT, JR.

The Missing Gun

Another school shooting occurred [recently] and the headlines were everywhere the same, from Australia to Nigeria. This time the shooting occurred at a university, the Appalachian Law School.

As usual, there were calls for more gun control. Yet in this age of "gun-free school zones," one fact was missing from virtually all the news coverage: The attack was stopped by two students who had guns in their cars. The fast responses of two male students, Mikael Gross, 34, and Tracy Bridges, 25, undoubtedly saved multiple lives.

Mikael was outside the law school and just returning from lunch when Peter Odighizuwa started his attack. Tracy was in a classroom waiting for class to start. When the shots rang out, utter chaos erupted. Mikael said, "People were running everywhere. They were jumping behind cars, running out in front of traffic, trying to get away."

Mikael and Tracy did something quite different: Both immediately ran to their cars and got their guns. Mikael had to run about 100 yards to get to his car. Along with Ted Besen (who was unarmed), they approached Peter from different sides. As Tracy explained it, "I aimed my gun at him, and Peter tossed his gun down. Ted approached Peter, and Peter hit Ted in the jaw. Ted pushed him back and we all jumped on."

What is so remarkable is that out of 280 separate news stories (from a computerized Nexis-Lexis search) in the week after the event, just four stories mentioned that the students who stopped the attack had guns. Only two local newspapers (the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and the *Charlotte Observer*) mentioned that the students actually pointed their guns at the attacker.

Much more typical was the scenario described by the *Washington Post*, where the heroes had simply "helped subdue" the killer. The *New York Times* noted only that the attacker was "tackled by fellow students." Most in the media who discussed how the attack was stopped said: "students overpowered a gunman," "students ended the rampage by tackling him," "the gunman was tackled by four male students before being arrested," or "students ended the rampage by confronting and then tackling the gunman, who dropped his weapon." In all, 72 stories described how the attacker was stopped without mentioning that the student heroes had guns. Unfortunately, the coverage in this case was not unusual.

In the other public school shootings where citizens with guns have stopped attacks, rarely do more than one percent of the news stories mention that citizens with guns stopped the attacks. Many people find it hard to believe that research shows that there are 2 million defensive gun uses each year. After all, if these events were really happening, wouldn't we hear about them on the news? But when was the last time you saw a story on the national evening news (or even the local news) about a citizen using his gun to stop a crime? This misreporting actually endangers people's lives. By selectively reporting the news and turning a defensive gun use story into one where students merely "overpowered a gunman" the media gives misleading impressions of what works when people are confronted by violence. Research consistently shows that having a gun is the safest way to respond to any type of criminal attack, especially these multiple-victim shootings.

John Lott is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and the author of More Guns, Less Crime. *Reprinted with author's permission.*

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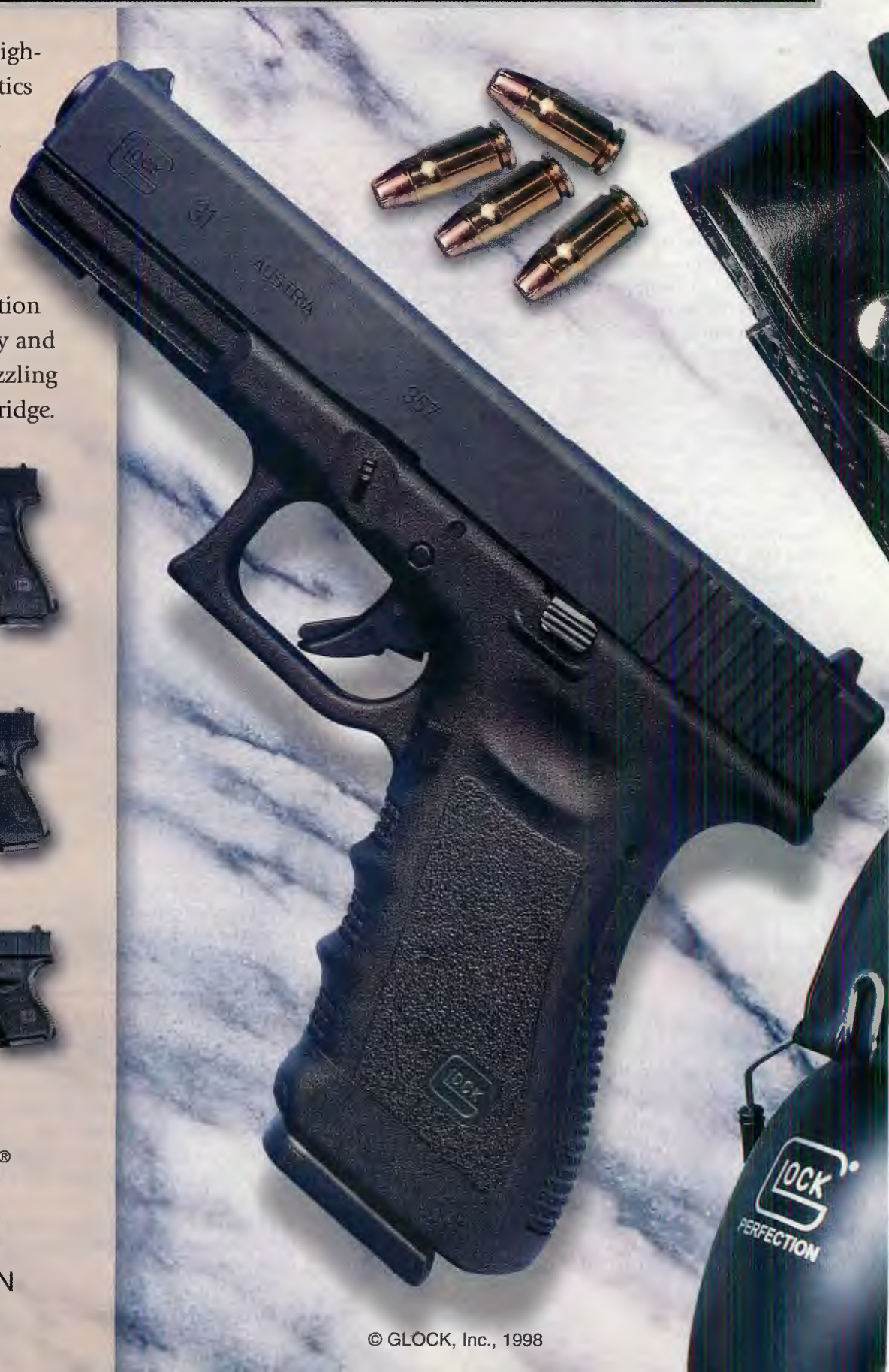

Bulletin Board

Fearless Comrades, Are You OK?

When Green Beret David Diaz was in Afghanistan on covert ops in the late 1980s, he probably didn't expect to be back more than a decade later, calling in heavy-duty airstrikes from U.S. bombers. CWO3 Diaz's 11-man team included an Air Force combat controller from the 23rd Special Tactics Squadron at Hurlburt Field, and the team was a real force-multiplier: Strikes called in by the team are credited with as many as 3,500 enemy kills and some 450 vehicles destroyed after they developed a typically Yank technique. Noting that their Northern Alliance allies held conversations with their Taliban counterparts, the GIs broke into the frequency in Arabic, and feinting sympathy would ask if the just-targeted Taliban were OK. When they would get a reply such as "No, we are fine, the bomb hit 500 meters to the left of our headquarters," they then could immediately adjust fire for the next strike, and continue until they no longer would elicit a response. This ploy was used all the way to Kabul — with truly dramatic success.

In the final analysis, intelligence, or a deficiency thereof, can win wars.

Rather Have Been A Marine

In former CBS correspondent Bernard Goldberg's recent book, *Bias,* Dan Rather was not only outraged at being called biased, but fumed that he was a patriotic American who enlisted twice in the USMC. Not so, says NewsMax.com and B.G. Burkett's authoritative *Stolen Valor,* which states that Dan "was discharged less than four months later [following his enlistment] on May 11, 1954 for being medically unfit."

— *T.R.*

Osama Who?

(the following is a comment received from the SOF *website)*

im gonna fuck u up dirty American ,another vietnam is on the weay, death to America ,gonna eat your hearts out

osama@wto.com

Dear Osama:
You need to learn how to use a "spell check."

Your obedient servant,
LTC Robert K. Brown, USAR (Ret.), Editor/Publisher

Hit The Showers, Osama ...

Osama has been a pretty frustrating adversary, hiding in caves and sending his minions out to do his dirty work against women, kids, and unarmed civilians. Until somebody in cammies gets their hands on him, we'll just have to vent our frustration with giving him a golden shower several times a day. The clever heat-reactive urinal targets

from UrinalTargets.com let you score your target, then when they cool off Osama bin Lavatory reappears for the next shooter.

They're available at $9.95 for two, postpaid from UrinalTargets.com, Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 460, Port Hueneme, CA 93046; or you can e-mail them at info@customtargets.com . If they get enough requests, perhaps they'll come out with Jane Fonda and Slick Willie models as well.

Soldiers For The Truth

You don't have to be controversial to be enlightening, and you don't have to be enlightening to be controversial — but in the case of Col. David Hackworth it seems there has always been a synergism between these two attributes that has resulted in a legacy of very worthwhile journalism.

A recent project to dress the First Amendment in cammies is Hack's website: http://www.sftt.org . SFFT is a no-holds-barred meeting place for those who can identify problems and make reasonable recommendations for solutions. Check it out.

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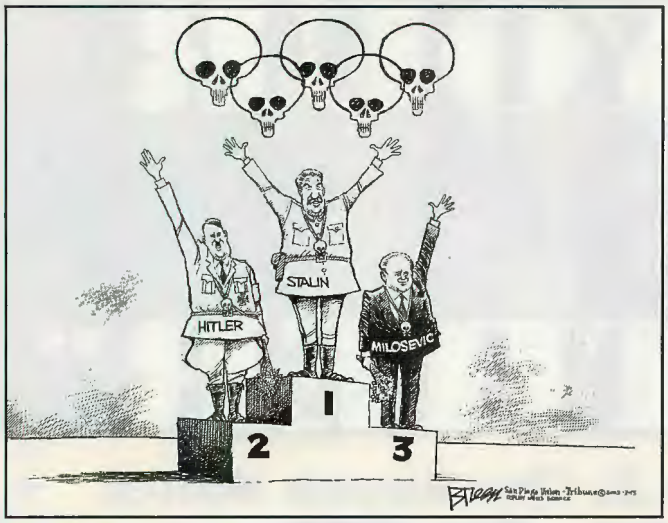

Visit The Colonel ...

Sources tell us that when peaceniks set up a "fasting for peace" tent on the University of Arizona campus, a young Arizona National Guard lieutenant and other students countered with an "eating for victory" tent next to it, and stocked it with buckets of chicken, bags of Big Macs and fries and other aromatic enticements. As the week rolled on the Fasting for Peace number slowly gravitated over to the Eating for Victory tent, and by the end of the week the Eating for Victory group had grown exponentially and the pacifists called it quits: They folded their tent, declared the campus "unenlightened" and left. Noted Capt. Dan W. Clark, Ed. D., the Army ROTC Enrollment Advisor at the university, "creativity and sound logistics are vital components to winning wars — even the cultural and intellectual kind."

Philippine Phleshpots Off-Limits

In a bid to avoid one of the problems that led to the nonrenewal of U.S. military leases in the Philippine Islands a decade ago, President Gloria Arroyo has asked Philippine and U.S. Army commanders to ensure the 600-some GIs there to participate in training exercises be kept away from sex workers during their R&R. "The President has emphasized that she doesn't want this presence of U.S. troops to start prostitution activities," said presidential spokesman Rigoberto Tiglao. "One proposal is for U.S. troops to go out of their barracks in groups and in guided tours. Going out alone will not be allowed." Tiglao said such restrictions would also help minimize brawls and unruly incidents in bars involving visiting servicemen. Some 250 U.S. troops will stay at the Philippine military installations in Zamboanga, the city nearest the island of Basilan which hides the Abu Sayyaf Group that is the reason for the U.S. deployment. Another 250 support personnel will be assigned to a northern base in Cebu, and 160 Special Forces troopers will be based on Basilan itself.

U.S. forces will be encouraged to take advantage of the Philippines' wholesome tourist activities, will not be allowed off base armed, and civilians — especially women — will not be allowed on base. Senior officers stressed that visiting service personnel would have to observe a 2200 curfew, and the red-light districts will be strictly off-limits.

Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, where are you?

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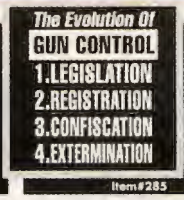

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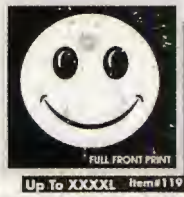

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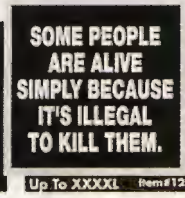

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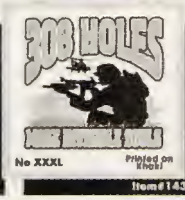

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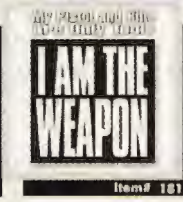

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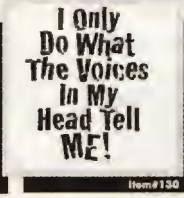

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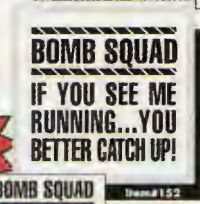

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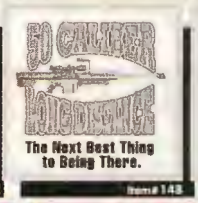

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Heavy Medal

What's a Medal of Honor cost? According to the Army's media relations office, it costs $29.98 and is made of brass. Many who have received the medal, however, paid the ultimate price.

Considering that the Congressional Gold Medal, issued to entertainment celebs and foreign dignitaries, is 90% gold and is authorized at a price of up to $30,000, Rep. Joe Baca (D-Calif.) thinks that's not right. Rep. Baca is leading a pack of Blue-Dog Dems and like-minded Republicans who are spearheading legislation to have all subsequent Medals of Honor struck from 90% gold alloy. Noted Baca, "These brave men and women who wear their uniform with honor and who distinguish themselves to the point of being awarded the nation's highest tribute deserve nothing less than the real thing. The cost and the metal content are not the issue. The issue is that we must give our most highly honored veterans a medal more reflective of their bravery and sacrifice ... The cost of my proposal would be minimal. According to the Congressional Budget Office, the cost per medal would come to around $2,000." At an annual cost of $2,000 (we have issued an average of about one per year since 1979), this seems like a modest upgrade cost to us.

All The Way

The U.S. Army is adding additional airborne troops to its active duty rolls: the legendary 2nd Battalion (ABN), 503rd Infantry ("The Rock") has been reactivated in Vicenza, Italy and joined the "Sky Soldiers" of the 173rd Airborne Brigade, where they will serve as the Army's "fire brigade" to react to hostilities in Europe, Africa and the Middle East. The 2nd 503rd distinguished itself on Corregidor and in Vietnam.

Rewards For Justice

The Rewards for Justice program run by the Department of State has been in effect for a number of years now, by paying the public at large in the United States or overseas to be the eyes and ears, watching for suspicious activity as terrorists plan, equip and train for and set about to carry out their diabolical acts. The program's successes are measured not by what happened — but by what did not happen. There is a lot to this program, and there is a lot you as an individual can do. Check out their website for detailed information: www.dssrewards.net .

Aristide's Green Beret Bodyguards

According to sources in Haiti and Washington, Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, fearing for his life after an apparent coup attempt last December, has greatly expanded his team of personal bodyguards, most of whom are veterans of U.S. Army Special Forces.

Revenge That Works

Really want to irritate the Taliban types? How about doing something positive to help the Afghani women who fled to Pakistan to escape their abuse? Denied education or proper medical care and given a consistent ration of maltreatment by the petty Taliban tyrants, thousands fled to refugee camps in Pakistan. One of the worthwhile endeavors to help them was the Malaiai hospital in Quetta, Pakistan, which until it was forced to close for lack of funds, treated 400 patients a day and earned an international reputation for its treatment of land mine victims. It was founded in 1986 and run by the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). For them to have to close their doors at this time is particularly tragic — but you can help. Your tax-deductible donation can be sent to this NGO: The Afghan Women's Mission, 260 S. Lake Ave, PMB 165, Pasadena, CA 91101, and your money will go a long way. One $50 donation will make it possible for 16 women or children to be seen and treated at the hospital once its doors are open again. For more information, surf their website at http:// www.rawa.org .

MI-5, MI-6, GCHQ to Expand

For the first time since the end of the Cold War, Britain's legendary intelligence services plan to expand by about 10% to meet the current terrorist threat. The SAS and SBS, who work with British intelligence in much the same manner as U.S. SpecOps forces work with the CIA, are also under strength. But any recruitment there would be at a measured pace, to avoid diluting existing skills and expertise.

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AMERICA AT WAR

Cinema, Soldiers and Cynics

BY OLIVER NORTH

PHOTOS COURTESY REVOLUTION STUDIOS AND COLUMBIA PICTURES/SIDNEY BALDWIN

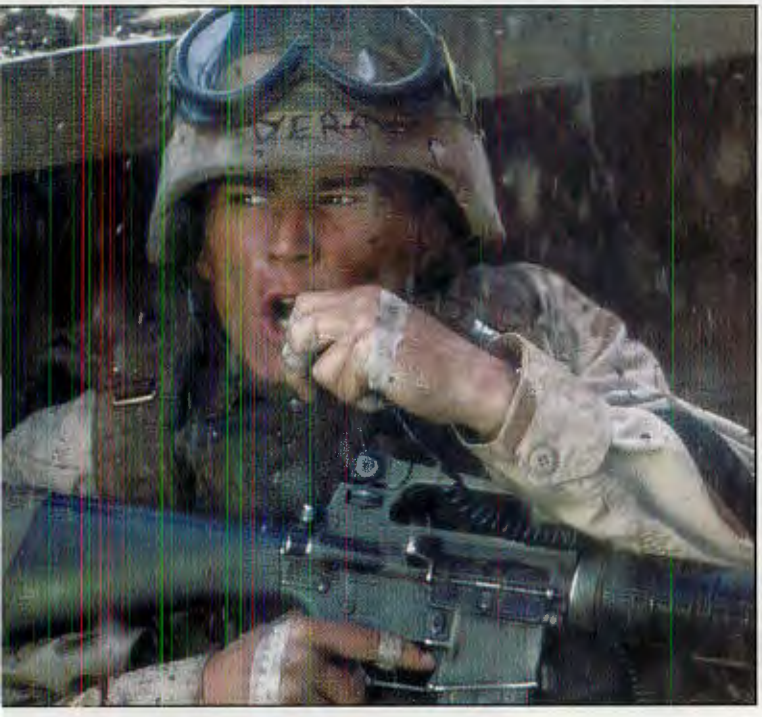
WASHINGTON, D.C. — Even a stopped watch is right twice a day. And there are times in life when even those who consistently get it wrong sometimes get it right. This is one of those times.

Now, I will admit that I have criticized the "entertainment" coming out of Hollywood — and I don't retract a word of it. The gratuitous sex, grossly inaccurate historical portrayals and mockery of religion are just a few of the ways producers and filmmakers in Tinseltown consistently get it wrong.

The optimist in me believes that if those same producers and filmmakers are told when they make a good film, they just might make more of them.

The recent release of "Black Hawk Down" is a case in point. The Ridley Scott/Jerry Bruckheimer film is a remarkably accurate adaptation of Mark Bowden's best-selling book by the same title. It portrays, with stark, unflinching realism, what actually happened during a 15-hour firefight in Mogadishu, Somalia, on 3–4 Oct. 1993. The operation, which is still the bloodiest single day of combat for U.S. forces since the Vietnam War, claimed the lives of 18 U.S. Army Rangers and Delta Force soldiers. Another 77 were wounded.

This is no "Saving Private Ryan" with fictional characters "gallantly" carrying out a fictional mission. This is no "Pearl Harbor" with a fictional love-triangle "bravely" built around a historic event. The events in "Black Hawk Down" actually happened. The actors portray real soldiers. The battle scenes, from the chaos of the helo-borne insert — all the way to the survivors' eventual rescue — are as authentic as any depiction of combat I have ever seen this side of the real thing.



And the fear, perseverance and heroism recreated on the screen are every bit as real as that which I have witnessed in other firefights in other wars. At the end of the movie, one is led inescapably to the conclusion that American soldiers are tough, resourceful, caring and courageous. Maybe that's why the critics seem so intent on shooting the film down like a U.S. helicopter in an East African gunfight.

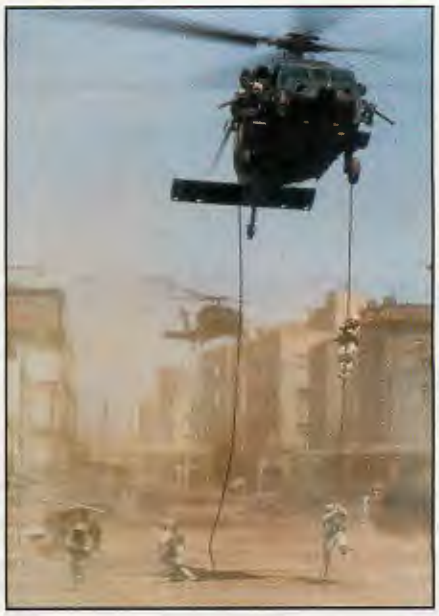
The movie wasn't nominated for the Golden Globes and will likely be snubbed by the Oscars [in fact, it was nominated for cinematography, best director, editing, and best sound]. Josh Hartnett, the actor who portrays Sgt. Matt Eversmann, said, "I don't see how a movie so realistic about an important event didn't get nominated for anything." Josh has a lot to learn about political correctness. To be "acceptable" to the Hollywood elites and the "critic-ocracy," movies about American soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines must depict them as drug-crazed, pot-headed marauders and the officers who lead them as venal, corrupt, cruel and incompetent. If a movie-maker doesn't show them that way — look out!

Paul Tatara of CNN, one of the cynical critics, called it "one of the most violent films ever released by a major studio" and said the "unequalled slaughter is only one element of this film's considerable insult. The most distasteful part is that it's being presented as an unflinching tribute to fallen heroes, rather than the realistically rendered game of 'Doom' that it is." Tatara said that "Black Hawk Down" is "nothing more than a patriotism-cloaked excuse to stretch the shockingly graphic first 20 minutes of 'Saving Private Ryan' across an entire film's length — not that 'Black Hawk Down' is even remotely as useful as that picture."

Useful? "Ryan" was fiction. "Black Hawk" is truth. Maybe that's your Problem, Mr. Tatara — "you can't handle the truth."

Andrew O'Hehir of salon.com called it a "cliche-riddled script" and wrote that the movie was "pointless and misguided." Michael Rechtshaffen of the *Hollywood Reporter* called it a "major letdown as a motion picture." Jonathan Foreman of the *New York Post* said it was "powerful" and "realistic" but an "ultimately unsatisfying depiction of urban combat." Foreman was upset that the two-hour firefight was "tediously repetitive." The Rangers and Delta Force soldiers in that near-endless firefight undoubtedly felt the same. Watching your friends die one after another can indeed be "tediously repetitive."

From atop his Ivory Tower, the *New York Times*' Elvis



Mitchell called it "meaningless" and claimed that the movie's "lack of characterization converts the Somalis into a pack of snarling dark-skinned beasts, gleefully pulling the Americans from their downed aircraft and stripping them. Intended or not, it reeks of glumly staged racism." Mitchell has apparently forgotten that Somali mobs did exactly that — and dragged the near-naked bodies of two dead Americans through the streets of Mogadishu.

Rex Reed, writing in the *New York Observer,* said the movie is a "noisy, pointless war epic" and an "interminable mural of killing, famine, bleeding and devastation." He goes on to say that the film "examines the grit and heroism of boys waiting to be rescued after an idiotic military blunder." Reed is right about one thing. The military-loathing Clinton-Gore "National Security Team" denied requests for AC-130 gunships and armor, and when help was needed from the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division, it had to be requested through the United Nations. Blunder indeed.

"Black Hawk Down" isn't for the faint of heart or the "blame America first" crowd. And it isn't for fans of the last administration. It is for those who want to see an accurate depiction of how young Americans respond when they are cast in harm's way against near hopeless odds. It's an object lesson in how not to use our military. For that reason, it ought to be "required viewing" for every politician. But then, they probably won't like it any better than the critics.

Clues Pointing To The Other "Evil Axis"

BY ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE

A book released in France [recently] documents, chapter and verse, the "axis of evil," but it's not the one President Bush had in mind. It is the axis between Saudi Arabia's Wahhabi clergy and al Qaeda.

Roland Jacquard runs the Paris-based "Observatory of International Terrorism" and is an adviser on terrorism to the U.N. Security Council. He has compiled devastatingly incriminating documents, correspondence and *fatwas* (religious edicts) found in the rubble of Osama bin Laden's Afghan offices and in al Qaeda's terrorist training camps. The book is appropriately titled *The Secret Archives of Al Qaeda.*

The U.S. intelligence community presumably has copies of these documents — and then some — but with the House of Saud in deep denial about its clergy aiding and abetting Islamist terrorists, the Bush administration does not wish to rock the already leaky boat of Saudi-U.S. relations. There is a Saudi religious dimension to al Qaeda that official Washington and other Western capitals have decided to sidestep.

Mr. Jacquard's documents include fatwas issued by Saudi and other Gulf religious leaders, including the late firebrand Hamoud Shuaibi who, according to the author, issued the first religious ruling condoning the World Trade Center bombing. Another fatwa by a Kuwaiti cleric approved suicide attacks as "the most noble rung a Muslim can attain." It also mentioned "crashing your plane into an important location that will cause your enemy to suffer colossal losses."

The book, first publicized by the *International Herald Tribune* also contains an "Encyclopedia of Jihad" on how to be an effective terrorist; how to set up "sleeper cells" in the West; how to put explosives in a hair brush, a stapler, a pack of cigarettes or a ballpoint pen; how to detonate a bomb with a rat in a cage that gnaws at a metal wire coated with blood or fat; diagrams of construction methods of skyscrapers. There is also a manuscript that mentions the suicide attack on the *U.S.S. Cole* in Aden in October 2000 by two men in a dinghy that cost just $10,000. The $1 billion warship was disabled for almost a year and the repair bill ran to $250 million. The WTC Towers and Pentagon suicide attacks are esti-

mated to have cost between $300,000 and $500,000 and the accumulated damage to the U.S. and world economies is now thought to be almost $700 billion.

The House of Saud recently dispatched a phalanx of princes of the royal blood to America where they fanned out in think tanks and television talk shows. They tried to convince their American interlocutors that they had not funded Islamist extremism in Pakistan or Afghanistan; that they have never encouraged extremism anywhere; that they had never given a penny to the Taliban regime, even though Saudi Arabia was one of only three countries (with Pakistan and the UAE) to recognize the Taliban regime ("they asked us, but we said no"); and that the only ticking time bomb in the region was the Bush administration's benign neglect, flavored with an Israeli bias, of the Palestinian-Israeli debacle.

As for Pakistan's thousands of religious schools that teach them virtues of holy war against Western infidels, the Saudi government has never given them any money. "Maybe private money," conceded Prince Turki al Faisal, who had run the Saudi intelligence service for 24 years until he suddenly and unexpectedly resigned two weeks before September 11.

The House of Saud's accounting practices would make Enron and Arthur Andersen salivate with envy. They are a now-you-see-it-now-you-don't shell game that allowed King Fahd's youngest son to build himself a $350 million palace outside Riyadh. The deliberations of the unelected, king-appointed consultative body known as the Shura are as opaque as the budget it is not authorized to discuss.

Prince Turki's non-denial denial was as close as the Saudi royal family will come to facing the ugly truth. He also admitted that Osama bin Laden still enjoys the support of an overwhelming majority of young Saudis. Sixty percent of Saudi Arabia's 18 million population is under 21. As a man who has been the kingdom's top intelligence honcho for a quarter of a century, Prince Turki knows, but cannot admit, even off the record, that radical mullahs have been exporting Wahhabi extremism for years. The Wahhabi clergy has been the beneficiary of the House of Saud's munificence since 1974, when oil prices suddenly tripled following the October 1973 war. The clergy received untallied billions of riyals to build mosques around the world and spread Wahhabi intolerance. In return for this royal largess, the clergy turned a blind eye to the extravagant excesses of the House of Saud, feathered its nest and consolidated its Muslim dominion abroad.

The only problem with this royal protection arrangement is that for the clergy America is the enemy, and. for the House of Saud, America is a close friend for 60 years and one that saved the kingdom from a fate worse than death when it intervened to turn back Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. The Pakistani madrassa network of some 15,000 religious schools (7,500 are deemed important) was entirely funded by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. From there, gung-ho wannabe jihadis — John Walker Lindh was one of them — moved west into Afghanistan to join al Qaeda. Pakistan was thus relieved of the burden of public education so it could spend more on its military budget.

Hopefully, Mr. Jacquard's *Secret Archives of Al Qaeda* will persuade Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud, the kingdom's de facto ruler, to muster the will and courage to bring the radical clergy to heel — before radical Islam topples the House of Saud.

Arnaud de Borchgrave is editor at large for The Washington Times, *a position he also holds with United Press International. Reprinted with permission of UPI.*

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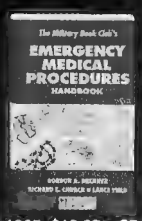

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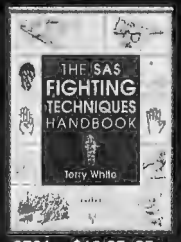

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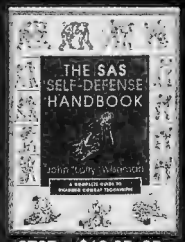

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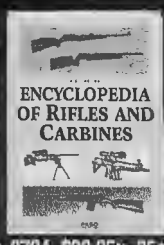

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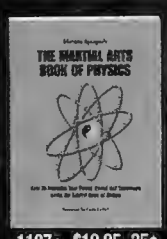

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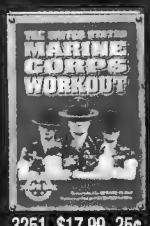

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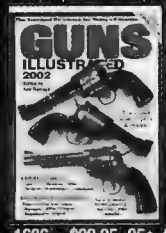

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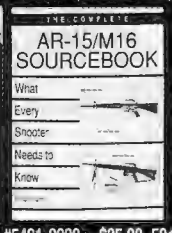

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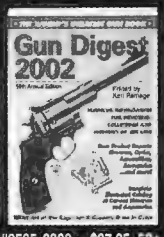

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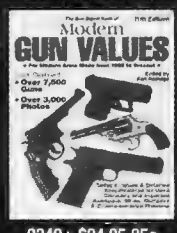

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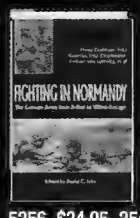

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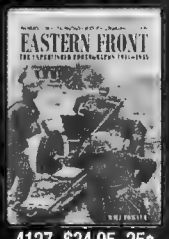

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flak

2002: A Matchless Year

Please send information about your 2002 SOF Three-Gun Match. I really enjoy your magazine: It's the best place to get news that nobody else will report on. Keep up the good work.

Thank you,
Leo John Bernard
Rifle, Colorado

Soldier Of Fortune will not be holding a 3-Gun Match this year. After much soul-searching and agonizing, we have reluctantly decided that SOF cannot hold the match and continue to focus the necessary amount of time to effectively and thoroughly cover World War III.

SOF wishes to thank the hundreds of individuals who have participated in and supported the SOF 3-Gun Match since its inception in 1980. Mike Horne and his dedicated staff have done a superlative job since 1983, as have the Miller brothers, who ran the match at the Whittington Center in 2001.

Mike Horne will be sponsoring a 3-Gun Match in Las Vegas from 24 to 28 September 2002. He can be contacted for further information at 661-588-1063 (home) or 661-758-6447 (work). Rich Wyatt, of Gunsmoke, will be holding a 3-Gun Match at the Whittington Center over the 4th of July holiday weekend. For further information call: 303-456-4545.

Choke on Coke?

I read in *USA Today* that Coca-Cola has hired Muhammad Ali to sell Coke products. Ali is a draft dodger and for Coca-Cola to hire Ali as their new spokesperson is a slap in the face to all veterans in this country. Millions of Americans have served their country when called, many making the ultimate sacrifice, and what does Coca-Cola do — they hire a draft dodger when our country is at war. Does Coca-Cola support the USA, the DAV, the VFW, the American Legion? What are they doing to help the thousands of homeless veterans?

Could we get all the people who think this is wrong to boycott Coca-Cola? Please boycott Coca-Cola and write to Coca-Cola headquarters expressing your displeasure for having a draft dodger as the Coca-Cola spokesman.

Yours truly,
Harry Thurau

Air Force Equal Time

After spending 20 years in the Air Force, helping AC-130s, MC-130s, and EC 130s do their mission, I never got my chance to do the one thing I always wanted to do — be on the cover of *SOF* magazine! Well, it's about time someone from the Air Force was on your cover — even if it's not me!

James M. Takos, Captain, USAF (Rtd)
Morgantown, WV

We'd have had more Air Force guys on the cover over the years, but it's just been so hard to find 'em who are as plumb pretty as us regular Army.

Motley Kudos

Thank you for reprinting one of Lance Motley's articles recounting his experiences fighting alongside the Mujahideen. I was 16 years old when he died and he was my favorite foreign correspondent. While my teenage friends swooned over "pop icons," I waited for my next issue of *SOF* to see where "Gene Scroft" would end up next. Too bad men like him aren't made too often anymore.

As always, Kudos to SOF!

Julie Voorhees
Highlands Ranch, Colo.

Lance is missed all the more because wherever he traveled — Afghanistan, Burma, the South Pacific or South America — he left a mark for good.

Black Hawk Down

[There were many moving parts in this movie, such as] the death of Corporal Smith, while an enlisted medic, aided by Smith's chalk leader, performed field surgery on him. It was painful just to watch, and yet it was inspiring and moving. General Garrison mopping the blood was moving, but so was the note at the end that he took full responsibility for the mission.

He did, and those who should have not only didn't take responsibility, but pretty much disowned the mission and those who performed it. The Clinton administration's actions (or lack of action) in the aftermath of this battle were one of the moral low points of a particularly low and tainted administration. Those from the classes that never serve who look down on the military ought to see this movie. Truly great war movies are very rare, and I've heard that we've got another one coming in "We Were Soldiers." This is a time when Americas has great cause to honor her military, and it is good to have these movies.

Again, Thanks!
Kenn Miller

Network of Terror

Kudos for your article "Network of Terror," but I'm surprised you didn't feature Yassir Arafat and his PLO/El Fatah et al. terrorism. If anyone is the "Mother of International Terrorism," it has to be Arafat.

It should also be noted that Arafat's lads have murdered many Americans. One of the most notorious happened during the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship hijacking, when his lads heaved an elderly American into the Mediterranean — wheelchair and all.

Many other Americans have been killed by Arafat's terrorists, by happening to be at the wrong marketplace, bus stop, disco, hospital, airplane, etc.

Regards,
A Concerned American

You're right, of course — starting decades ago with Fatah, Arafat's minions have accounted for a lot of blood, including American. As noted in the first part of the article, there are so many groups, the story was restricted to those who have made it a point to hit American targets or interests. See Al Venter's story on page 36 of this issue for further information on Arafat, his allies and activities.

Their Loss

First, thanks for getting rid of the plastic bags. Second, the information you published in the March 2002 Bulletin Board about the age requirement for the Federal Air Marshal program is incorrect. The FAA has only waived the age limit for "former federal law enforcement personnel." In fact, the FAA web site specifically states that military (even military police) retirees do not qualify for the waiver. Either the federal government (FAA) hasn't been informed of the new requirements, or it hasn't yet figured out the value of the experienced and capable talent our former military members represent. Either way I feel insulted.

G. Pearce
Via e-mail

The information we published was from official sources and supposedly current when we wrote it, but new programs must have been in a state of flux. We hope they will reconsider, as the pool of

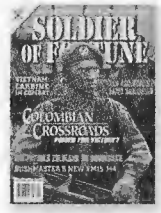
disciplined, responsible talent represented by military retirees is an excellent resource. For the latest info, go to www.faa.gov and click on "jobs."

Silence of the Spaan

When it comes to handling prisoners, it is obvious that CIA's Johnny Spann never saw the movie "The Silence of the Lambs," nor did any police work in the City of Chicago.

Bruno Canole, Ex Chicago PD
Las Vegas, Nevada

Kudos, Krott



First off, great job on the magazine over the past five or six years that I have been reading it. I thought of writing in the fall after I read the article "Little Nancy and the Big Bad Mercenaries" by Rob Krott. I wanted to say "more of this!" I went back and looked up his articles in my old issues and have been keeping an eye out for his stuff in new ones. I came across his e-mail address on the web and asked him if he had written any more on his experiences there and he pointed me to a few of your back issues you have available on your website. You have been right on the money with your coverage of the current war on terrorism. I also hope to see more "I Was There" articles from the Balkans and Africa by freelance soldiers in those regions.

Via e-mail

Feeling Better Down Under

I'd just like to say that after September 11th, I was crushed, but then comforted myself by many of your patriotic articles, which really helped me recover myself. My family and I have moved to Australia because of the recent events, and I was seriously missing my homeland's unmistakable pride. Thanks for everything.

George
Via e-mail

Estrogen: Chem Warfare?

Take all American women who are +/-5 years of menopause. Train us for a few weeks, outfit us with automatic weapons, grenades, gas masks, prozac, hormones, SPAM, etc.

Drop us (parachuted, preferably) across the landscape of Afghanistan, and let us do what comes naturally.

Think about it.

Our anger quotient alone, even when doing standard stuff like grocery shopping and paying bills, is formidable enough to make even men in turbans tremble.

We have had our children. We would gladly die/suffer to protect them and their future. We'd like to get away from our husbands, if they haven't left already. And for those of us who are single, the prospect of finding a good man with whom to share life is about as likely as being struck by lightning and probably not as lethal; therefore, we have nothing to lose.

Let us go fight.

The Taliban hate women.

Imagine their terror as we crawl like fire-ants with hot-flashes all through their godforsaken terrain.

Diane Miller

Works for us. Might even come up with a rotating cadre of Amazons who want to fight only one week per month. It'd only take one woman per cave to get the Taliban on the run.

Sub Convert

Enough of these chicken-shit retailers who gladly display *High Times Magazine* but won't carry your fine publication!

Never in the military, but have learned a lot from and thoroughly enjoyed your magazine over the years.

My subscription will be called in first thing in the A.M.

G. Todd
Via e-mail

AMERICA AT WAR

The Roots of a Traitor

BY MONA CHAREN

The press cannot seem to get enough of John Walker Lindh. His hirsute and filthy face has filled our screens dozens of times since he was apprehended in Afghanistan, and literally thousands of stories have been written tracing his road to treason. What, they've been asking, could make a 16-year-old forsake the comfortable life of Marin County, Calif., for the wilds of Yemen and Afghanistan? And how could he turn his back on his nation, his family and his home?

It's not really that mysterious, is it? The mere wealth of America is not what engenders love of country. In fact, the least affluent areas are probably the most patriotic. No, the key to understanding John Walker Lindh is that he came from a family that was so liberal, as the old joke goes, that they declined to impose their values even on themselves. Though originally Catholic, Lindh's mother converted to Buddhism and encouraged her son to do so as well (it didn't take). And, though the press has been reluctant to report this, Frank Lindh left his marriage when John was 16 to live with a man.

Described by one former neighbor as "Birkenstock liberals," the Lindhs enrolled their son in an "alternative" high school in California. The school held no classes, but required only that students meet once or twice a week with a tutor to discuss their independent research. John studied world cultures. Mrs. Lindh found time for political demonstrations. A Marin newspaper photo captured her at a rally in the late 1990s denouncing U.S. policy toward Iraq. John's younger sister was there as well, carrying a sign reading, "Don't Kill Iraqi Kids."

It is not clear what John was learning at his progressive high school, but it is virtually certain that a robust appreciation for America's history, culture, language and heritage were not part of the curriculum. In fact, if his school was like other schools in other liberal parts of the country, he was taught skepticism if not outright contempt toward his country — a message that would have been reinforced at home. He was

given *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* to read. And he was deeply influenced by it. It is doubtful that he was exposed to the autobiographies of Benjamin Franklin or Ulysses S. Grant, both giants of American history.

Like many teen-agers, John was deeply idealistic. He wanted to be on the side of right. But in his experience and reading, the United States was rarely in the right. It was the oppressor, the enslaver and the imperialist. Victims were in the right. Victims had all the prestige. Theirs was the team to belong to. For a time, John presented himself in Internet chat rooms as black. It was but a short step to Islam (and John could hardly pass for black in the real world).

Though it is rarely admitted openly, most mosques in America are deeply political and bitterly anti-American. For a boy from a super liberal family, that would be no barrier. Many liberals despise patriotism as ignorant and xenophobic. As Katha Pollitt of *The Nation* magazine memorably put it when her daughter asked to display a flag after Sept. 11: "Definitely not. The flag stands for jingoism, and vengeance, and war."

The Lindh family was extreme. And yet, the pattern is familiar enough. Eager to provide their son with "choices" and to be "supportive," the Lindhs never so much as raised an objection when their 16-year-old dropped out of school, converted to Islam and announced a desire to live in Yemen. Mrs. Lindh wondered about Islamic views of women, but not apparently enough to deny her son's request for the wherewithal to travel to Yemen and thence to Afghanistan.

On what grounds could the Lindhs have objected? Could they have argued that Christianity had a superior spiritual message? That would be ethnocentrism. Could they object that Arab nations are notoriously anti-American? They weren't wild about America themselves. Could they maintain that parents have authority over minor children because they are parents? Not the Lindhs. Their highest value was "choice." John Walker Lindh clearly went further than his parents were comfortable with. In an email to his mother, he recently scoffed, "What has America ever done for anybody?" The Lindhs were probably dismayed that John fought with the Taliban and trained with Al Qaeda. But they should not be surprised. He simply went too far in the direction they pointed him.

South African Security Officer Eclipses Jim Cirillo's Feat of Arms

BY MIKE IRON

Although I have never had the privilege of meeting and training under the guidance of former NY City police officer Jim Cirillo, I have, over the years, developed the greatest respect for him as a man as well as a warrior. During his illustrious career, he and his fellow Stakeout Team officers successfully removed a number of armed evildoers from the gene pool. His most noted exploit was the confrontation he had with three gunmen. After challenging them to surrender, Jim solved their problems permanently with his issue .38 Special revolver. This became one of the seminal shooting incidents by which all others are measured.

I have been sitting on the following report since November 2001 in an effort to obtain more details on this incident. So far, I have been unable to gain more information on this amazing gun battle.

A student of John S. Farnham's was involved in a shoot-out in Pietermaritzburg, near Durban, South Africa that occurred just prior to Christmas. A team of three AIT (Assets In Transit) personnel entered a KFC client's restaurant to pick up receipts and transport them to the bank. As they prepared to exit with their client's assets, three bandits sitting at a table stood up and produced firearms in a robbery attempt. One AIT officer immediately and aggressively reacted by drawing his 9mm CZ 75 and dropping all three bad guys before they could get off a shot. The AIT officer fired-off a magazine and all 15 rounds found their marks. All three wisely surrendered. Case closed? Not by a long shot!

With blood pressures at least slightly elevated, our three heroes proceeded to carry out their mission and move the money to their armored vehicle. Outside they were jumped by three more of the gang, who opened fire without warning. One of the couriers was hit in the pelvis as he tried to reach the safety of the vehicle and our shooter, who dumped the gang's "A" team inside of the restaurant, took a hit in his arm. Undeterred, he again drew his pistol, killing one and wounding two of the attackers. The bad guys hosed-down the area and, in addition to the wounded officers, hit four innocent bystanders, one fatally. All six would-be robbers were taken down with 9mm hardball by the same man, who told John Farnham that he used his sights and, as a result, no rounds became errant shots.

Farnham added that his students as instructed to carry their CZs with a round in the chamber and the pistol in con-

dition one, "cocked and locked." However, he pointed out that there is considerable Israeli martial influence in South Africa and many carry in condition three, or chamber empty and hammer down. John also added that South African R4 rifles (local version of the Israeli Galil) are available to AIT teams, but none were evident that fateful day.

Farnham gleaned some Lessons Learned from this win and shares the following:

• Without a winning mindset, developed from a sound foundation of judgment, weapons and tactical competence and a strong personal commitment to victory, shooting skills alone are of little practical use. True warriors are habitually searching for winning ways and strategies.

• Grass-eaters and professional victims spend their lives looking for excuses to lose.

• Avoid relaxing too soon! After disposing of three gremlins, most of us would consider that a good day's work and it was "Miller time." Our warrior adhered to his training, reloaded quickly and maintained his combat mindset. Winning generously rewarded his cautious competence and alertness!

• Confidence, bordering on cockiness, that is often displayed by some highly skilled marksmen is nothing more than groundless arrogance — if it does not have a legitimate and realistic foundation. This dangerous mindset will "fall apart when the first shot is fired."

Let me add couple of observations of my own:

• High-capacity pistols can make a difference in your survival. More can be better, but only if you connect. A pistol, in the hands of a competent operator, can overcome and defeat overwhelming odds, if you do the unexpected and immediately and relentlessly attack the attackers. They expect capitulation and by not doing what is expected you gain the crucial element of surprise.

• Ball ammo, if it is well-placed and/or enough solid hits are realized, can do the job. As one Israeli operative once said to me during a conversation concerning the efficacy of full-metal jacketed ammo, "If you do your job, the bullet will do its job."

• If you plan on using firearms offensively, don't have chicken grease on your hands.

This is Mike Iron's first piece for SOF.

American Sniper In Israel

Jerusalem Diary

TEXT & PHOTOS BY DAVID STONE

1 January 2002: Last night the IDF foiled terrorists' attempts to celebrate New Year's Eve with twin attacks. Two 3-man teams of terrorists trying to infiltrate Israeli settlements bordering the Gaza Strip were intercepted and killed. Included among them was a senior *Fatah* commander, a leader of the Popular Resistance Committee. This "Committee" is a cooperative venture by the *Hamas, Fatah* and Islamic *Jihad*, a sort of demonstration project, spotlighting the terrorists' ability to carry out joint operations and providing a learning opportunity. This time their efforts failed.

9 January: More *Tanzim* gunfire up-close and personal. This time the target was an apartment building on the main street connecting Jerusalem's two northern-most neighborhoods. About 1400 the owner of the building's top-floor apartment returned from a quick trip to the local *Makolet* (Israeli 7-11) to discover a bullet hole in the window of his back bedroom. The hole was not there when he went out minutes earlier. I heard of the attack on a radio news brief at 1430. A quick stop at the local police substation for details and I was examining the bullet strike by 1515.

The window that was hit has a plastic window blind. There is about a 1 1/2-inch space between windowpane and blind. When the bullet penetrated the window the blind was down. After going through the plastic blind and glass window, the bullet continued in a straight line striking and penetrating the apartment's back wall ("American" gypsum wallboard) about 18 inches farther on. These three points provided quick and easy reference for taking a back azimuth. The terrorist stood on either an apartment porch or the ridge of the hill next to it when he fired. Both are "high ground" approximately 400 yards away in neighboring Arab Beit Hanina. Together with the adjacent buildings, they dramatically command the main street and the highway, the only roads from one side to the other of this neighborhood of fifty thousand-plus Israelis.

It appears that under cover of a winter rain downpour, a gunman popped off a round, or several, from his AK-47. No one reported hearing shots. Everyone was inside with windows closed, blinds down. No one was a target. This was a purely random shot.

18 January: You must go armed. Again and again events over the past three days proved the point. Terrorists can, and do, attack anywhere, anytime. If you are unarmed you can neither defend yourself, loved ones nor innocents. You and others die!

Two days ago a 71-year-old American visiting friends in Bethlehem was pulled from his car and butchered by Tanzim who then put his lifeless body back in his car and used it as a target in a "firing-through-the-windshield" exercise. Unarmed he could do nothing to defend himself but plead for help from nearby Palestinian policemen who just stood there and laughed.

Armored Israeli guard station as seen from various distances at street level.

That evening at the Givat Ze'ev gas station on Route 443, fewer than 10 minutes outside of Jerusalem, two terrorists walked up to the car of a 47-year-old woman and her 70-year-old aunt. After briefly chatting with the women to make sure they were unarmed Israelis, the terrorists drew their guns and fired more than two dozen shots through the windshield killing the driver and seriously wounding her aunt. The terrorists fled to nearby Palestinian Authority-controlled territory.

Last night an M16-firing terrorist jumped from the vehicle transporting him and rushed a banquet hall. Inside, about 180 guests were celebrating a *bat mitzvah*. Not a single one was armed. The terrorist's initial burst of fire was automatic, some 15 rounds. Among those killed was the unarmed guard at the door. After a pause of several seconds, in a second burst of full-auto fire, the terrorist sprayed the remaining rounds in his magazine at the guests inside the hall. Six people were killed, dozens were wounded.

From the videotapes made at the moment of the attack, you can hear each round fired and see bullets striking all

around inside. Only when the terrorist attempted a magazine change were those he attacked able to respond. They did so by beating him to death with folding chairs. Had even a single individual been armed the attack might have been stopped earlier and lives saved. This morning a new Ministry of Internal Security directive was issued. Effectively immediately, all reception halls must have armed guards.

23 January: What a difference being armed makes! This afternoon the presence of armed, selfless citizens saved many lives. A terrorist with an M16 opened fire on shoppers in the heart of Jerusalem's main street, Rehov Yaffo. With his initial burst of fire he killed two older ladies waiting at a bus stop, strafed several storefronts and a bus. Immediately upon hearing gunfire three civilian gun owners literally charged to the sound of the shots. They engaged the terrorist with their handguns.

Under the cover of their fire other fearless bystanders were able to effect the rescue and evacuation of the wounded. The gun owners' act also provided the driver of the strafed bus, himself wounded, the opportunity to drive the bus out of the field of terrorist fire. Using combat driving skills learned in a standard course required of all public bus drivers, he not only drove his bus's passengers out of harm's way, but also straight to the hospital two blocks away. Hospital personnel were already outside waiting for the wounded, even without being notified by police or *Magen David Adom* (Israeli EMS/Red Star of David). They, too, hearing the shooting knew what it meant and in their own way ran to the sound of the gunfire.

Police arriving at the scene joined the gunfight killing the terrorist. The two older ladies were the only ones killed. More than 40 people were wounded, including one of the civilian gun owners who took a bullet through the forearm.

27 January: The signs of the continuing and intensifying conflict in Jerusalem become more pronounced with every passing day. This morning an armored position was lowered into place overlooking the French Hill Intersection. A half-mile down the hill it overlooks, huge structures constructed of wooden telephone poles have been erected where high-tension wires cross the road. They are to catch the wires and keep them high up, above and off the road should the towers holding the wires be targeted by terrorists.

A suicide bomber just detonated on Rehov Yaffo, at the same bus stop where the shooting took place several days ago. Apparently the bomb was mostly explosives and not much shrapnel, causing substantial property damage, but only one death; that of an 81-year-old man. More than 200 people were wounded, dozens seriously.

This suicide bomber was female. It's a whole new ballgame!

31 January: For the third time in as many days, shrapnel from *Hizbullah* 57mm anti-aircraft fired at imaginary IDF aircraft rained down on northern Israel. According to an article in Foreign Report the 57mm shells were developed to explode with an especially loud boom, a kind of quid-pro-quo for the IAF's sonic booms over southern Lebanon. Showering northern Israel is a new, low-profile tactic. It gives the appearance that Hizbullah is continuing the fight against Israel's existence, but does not lead to the type of U.S. condemnation the terrorist organization received for such actions as last week's mortar and anti-tank missile attack on an Israeli Army border position.

3 February: The 15 months of non-stop Arab terrorism has turned my 16 1/2-year-old daughter into a kind of combat veteran. I just called home from Las Vegas where I'm attending the SHOT Show. She answered the phone. I asked what was going on. She answered, "Nothing special."

In the background I heard my wife say, "What about the bomb?" My daughter replied, "It didn't go off." To her it was a non-event, not worth mentioning (along with some other attacks), according to her "no harm, no foul" type thinking.

What didn't even merit reporting to me included the following. Two large bombs were found and defused by the Jerusalem's Police Bomb Squad, arguably the busiest bomb squad in the world. The first was discovered in the stairwell of an apartment building in a Jerusalem suburb. It took three hours to disarm the bomb that was constructed using a mortar shell. Had it exploded it would have brought down the entire building.

The second bomb, even larger, was discovered in our neighborhood, just a few streets away. Several 8-year-old boys, who were poking the "interesting object" they found in the park next to their schoolyard, were shooed away by an adult. He called the bomb squad. This bomb took them four hours to disarm. Had it exploded it would have blown out the windows in our home. It was that big!

Perhaps that would have caught my daughter's attention.

An Israeli Border Police officer, from the Jerusalem Unit, stands watch over traffic and pedestrians at his newly erected "armored" position overlooking the French Hill Intersection. Always within easy reach are his M16A2 with twin 30-round magazines and his 9mm, 15-shot, single-action IMI Jericho semi-auto pistol. His position, part of the continued strengthening of Jerusalem against terrorist attacks, was lifted into place by a huge crane.

David Stone is an American citizen who several years ago emigrated to Israel. Contributions from his monthly journal appear regularly in Soldier Of Fortune.

Snipe

TEXT & PHOTOS BY CPL. MATTHEW B. ROBERSON
CAMP LEJEUNE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

CAMP LEJEUNE — Scout Snipers with the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade's Anti-Terrorism Battalion (AT Bn.) are conducting an eight-day course to better hone their war fighting skills in an urban environment.

"The regular scout sniper course is based on green side, jungle settings, long range shots and reconnaissance. The urban course is learning how to shoot from different positions and places in an urban environment," said Sgt. Josh Lyons, AT Bn. chief scout sniper.

The eight-day course that the Marines must complete encompasses a wide variety of shooting techniques and settings. "The purpose of the course is to enhance the capabilities they already have, specializing in the urban area," said Gunnery Sergeant Keller R. Stewart, Special

(above) AT Bn. Scout Snipers practice rapid bolt manipulation exercises so that they can engage a high number of targets in the least amount of time. Their weapon is the M40A1 with Unertl fixed 10X Scope which will soon be replaced by the M40A3 with U.S. Optics Scope. (right) Scout snipers from the 4th MEB AT Bn. practice engaging multiple targets from elevated positions to increase their effectiveness in an urban environment.

Operations Training Group (SOTG) reconnaissance instructor.

"We try to give the Snipers a chance to experience every possible situation we can provide, that way they know how to react if the situation occurs," said Stewart.

The snipers learn how to shoot from the tops of buildings, adjust for angular offset, shoot through glass, rapid bolt manipulation, low light shooting and shooting from airborne platforms.

"Learning how to shoot from the different positions and situations enables the snipers to handle any situation that might occur," said Stewart. "When you shoot from the top of a building, the target appears to be a lot closer than it is. Using angular offset in this situation, the Marines can figure out what adjustments they need to make so they can hit their target."

"In the rapid bolt manipulation, [snipers] can engage multiple targets quickly by moving the bolt to keep rounds in the gun and engage the maximum number of targets in the least amount of time," said Lyons. "Learning how to shoot from airborne platforms is hard because the Marines not only have to know how to rig their weapon, but they also have to know how to control the helicopter by talking to the pilot."

The snipers can be implemented in many ways in a real-world situation. "The main mission of a sniper is to provide information. They report everything they see form the left to the right and give whoever is conducting the mission a grasp of the terrain and environmental and situational awareness," said Stewart.

"They can be used at over watch positions to monitor hostiles inside a building, observes hostages and report back movements until given the word to fire," said Lyons. "The snipers are the forward eyes and ears of the assault force and allow them to go in without having to worry about the enemy."

"The snipers are unique because they have to have a clear understanding of the mission statement, commanders intent and rules of engagement," said Stewart. "They must also have a high level of discipline because they will have to wait in uncomfortable positions for long periods of time. They have to be independent thinkers working toward a common goal." ✠

SCRAWL OF THE WILD WAR

BY J. DAVID TRUBY

There was someone in the cave with the Gulf War-experienced Marine sergeant. His combat instinct that keeps old troopers alive had kicked in. Impossible, he thought, we've bombed the shit out of this place. And, cleared it. I'm just here to recon for intel — no way anyone's in here.

Is there? Shit, this has happened before. These Taliban fuckers are sneaky. Shadows come to life and suddenly shoot up your gut with AK rounds. His mind was dancing.

A flash of white to his left, just outside the flashlight beam. Finger tightening, he swung to fire even as he began his roll ... when he saw the white was a large piece of cardboard propped in the corner of the cave wall.

"WELCOME TO TORA BORA, YOUNG MARINES

ENJOY THESE ★★★★★ ACCOMMODATIONS
— YOUR HOSTS, U.S. ARMY SPECIAL FORCES GROUP"

True story, according to National News Service's Ernest Gilmore, who talked with that shaken Gunny who'd had some of his nerve drained by a burst of graffiti in a cave.

Graffiti, a veteran of more wars, probably, than history has recorded, is alive and on the ground with our guys in the Middle East.

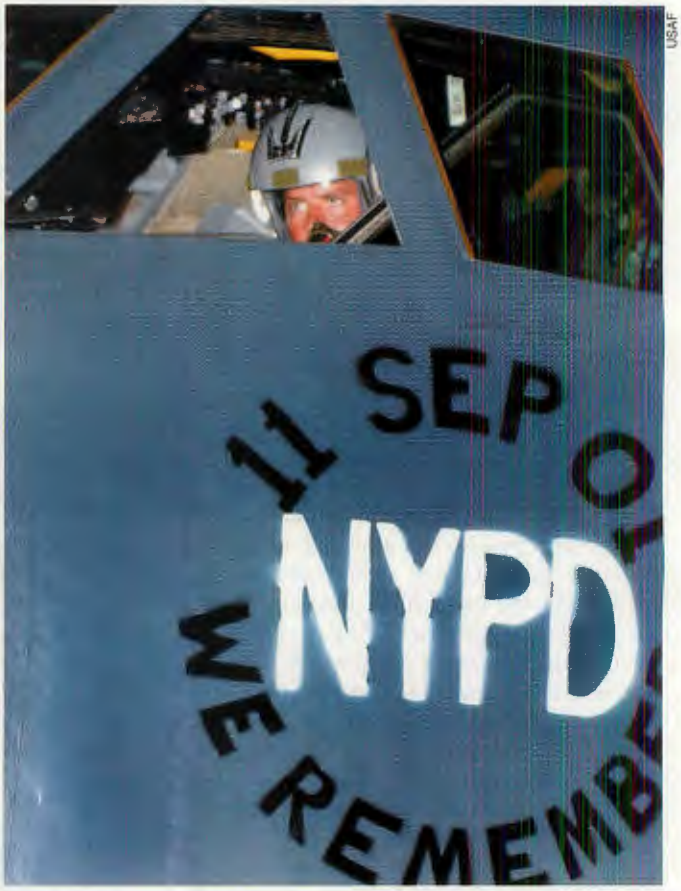
Graffiti are handmade writings and art on latrine stalls, building walls, fences, homemade signs and other public places.

It used to be that 99 and 44/100 percent of all graffiti were always dirty sayings.

My own favorite was spotted by Sergeant Wallace Johnson near the Afghan town of Gereshk. It was like one of those sign posts you saw in WWII, Korea and Vietnam where someone had put distances from that country to various U.S. cities (e.g. New York 7,000 miles with an arrow pointing East). On the picture he e-mailed to me, there was only one small sign on the pole, and it said: "CA IS ONLY FIVE CENTURIES AWAY."

Why do people write graffiti? There are a variety of complex answers to that simple question. The most obvious reason is that someone wants to voice a public protest, express an opinion, share a joke or insult someone. The Irish linguist, Dr. D.L. McGann, says, "It's all a matter of socioeconomic class. If you are rich enough, you may place your name or commercial statement on a building, instead of just scrawling something on a toilet wall or fence."

While graffiti are historically traced to biblical times,



USAF

B-52 pilot readies to embark on bombing mission. It seems everyone's a New Yorker.

most everyone's first military memory graffito was "Kilroy," of WW II fame. This goofy cartoon with its ubiquitous "KILROY WAS HERE" signature was, everywhere literally worldwide, even at the Potsdam Conference in July of 1945. Truman, Atlee and Stalin were meeting to shape the postwar world in a huge palace, which also had an opulent marble bathroom off-limits to all but The Big Three participants. Word is on the second day, a puzzled Stalin came out of a grand dumper and through his interpreter asked, "Who is this Kilroy?"

According to Charles Panati, author of *Words to Live By*,

Kilroy made his debut in 1939 on American military ships. As WW II spread and became global, so did Kilroy, appearing on the torch of the Statue of Liberty, the *Arc de Triomphe* (even *before* the Germans departed, thanks to a brave OSS op), the Marco Polo Bridge in China, the Brandenburg Gate in Germany, and the Royal Palace in Japan.

The image changed, though, when the new breed of graffitor took over after WWII.

Today, military graffiti are often sociological rather than scatological. For example, a sampling of current messages includes the following:
"I'D GIVE MY RIGHT ARM TO BE AMBIDEXTROUS"
"GAME BOY KILLS"
"KING KONG WAS A SODOMIST"
"HELP, PARANOIDS ARE AFTER ME"

From these examples, it's fairly obvious that today's graffiti is a cutting slide down the razor blade of life. Even the establishment, from where most graffitors are drawn, is not safe. A Clinton-era Marine Corps recruiting poster was immortalized by graffiti. The poster proclaimed, "IF THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. FINDS TIME TO WORK WITH THE MENTALLY RETARDED, WHAT ARE YOU DOING THAT IS SO IMPORTANT?" Under this, a realistic cynic Magic Markered the following reply in large letters: "TRYING TO GET HIS FUCKING RETARDS OUT OF OUR GOVERNMENT!"

The cool has replaced the crude, the creative has cut out the coarse, and the protest has pushed out the prurient. The new Millennium's military graffiti carry the image of the social protest, and not the musings of a dirty mind.

According to retired Army Lieutenant Colonel M.N. McGeary, a three-tour veteran of Vietnam, today's active-duty graffiti-writer is likely to be an educated person with a responsible role in the military, and not exclusively the lowly recruit.

Getty Images

A freelance military advisor to the United Front and Northern Alliance shows where his heart truly is.

I remember the graffiti from Vietnam were pretty rude, too. My friend, the late Lieutenant Commander Frank Brown, then an enlisted Navy medic in Vietnam, sent me a photo he'd taken of a hand-scrawled sign outside a mess hall at Da Nang. Frank snapped it before some REMF who was PC'd before his time ripped it down. The sign said "I LOVE GOOKS, THEY TASTE JUST LIKE FRIED CIUCKEN."

Former Special Forces Captain Peder C. Lund, now publisher of Paladin Press, told me about seeing this graffito near the motor pool of a forward base: "IF IT AIN'T BROKE, FIX IT UNTIL IT IS."

Other Vietnam-era graffiti included:
"IF YOU CAN'T BE REPLACED YOU WILL NEVER BE PROMOTED"
"DON'T LOWER YOUR STANDARDS, STAY OUT OF OCS"
"LIVING FOREVER, SO FAR, SO GOOD"
"WHAT DO YOU CALL 5,000 LOCALS HANGING FROM SKIDS? ANOTHER ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL"

Part of the reason for the, upsurge of graffiti is given by Marshall McLuhan, the *guruball* of your parents' NOW generation, who claimed that modern man lies in a global-sized village and is reverting to the hostile and aggressive values of a preliterate culture. A smattering of representative graffiti selected from Ft. Knox, the San Diego NAS, Parris Island, and from Ft. Sam Houston exemplifies this:
"EASTER CANCELED – HE'S BACK"
"GOD ISN'T DEAD, HE'S AUTOGRAPHTNG HIS BOOK AT AMAZON.COM"
"INTOLERANT PEOPLE SHOULD BE SHOT"
"DEATH IS NATURE'S WAY OF SAYING SLOW DOWN"

The following came from bathrooms at Twenty-nine Palms, Ft. Clayton, Ft. Rucker, and the USAF Academy:
"GOD IS A HAWK"
"FONDLING IS FUN"
"SUPPORT MILITARY POLICE ... WEAR A JOCK"
"REHAB IS FOR QUITTERS"
"JOIN THE ARMY AND DIE IN THE INTERVENTION OF CLINTON'S CHOICE"
"DONALD DUCK IS A TRANSVESTITE"
"SACRED COWS MAKE LOUSY HAMBURGER"

Even the Puzzle Palace has graffiti. For example, the following were collected from the bathrooms of that five-sided riverside shrine:
"THE SERVICE IS LIKE A PENIS — WHEN IT'S SOFT YOU CAN'T BEAT IT, WHEN IT'S HARD YOU GET FUCKED"
"CLINTON PLEASE PULL OUT — LIKE YOUR OLD MAN SHOULD HAVE DONE 52 YEARS AGO"

Of course, the guys on duty over the various Big Muddy Waters of our globe have become excellent graffitors, too. Here are some of their public pronouncements from Somalia, Kosovo, Bosnia, etc.:

In Somalia, former army officer Rob Krott, now an *SOF* war correspondent, recalls seeing a crudely handlettered sign hanging above the clearing barrel at an American field base about Negligent Discharges. It read, "NO NDs OR YOU WILL FRY!"

Rob also saw a homemade sign scrawled on an empty MRE cardboard: "MOGADISHU HILTON ... NO POOL ... NO A/C ... NO SERVICE ... NOTHING!"
"STOP THIS WAR, I WANT TO GET OFF"
"FLUSH TWICE, IT'S A LONG WAY TO THE CHOW TENT"
"EAT THE GIRL SCOUT AND THROW AWAY THE COOKIES"

Then there was Bardera, a dirt/desert airstrip in the mid-

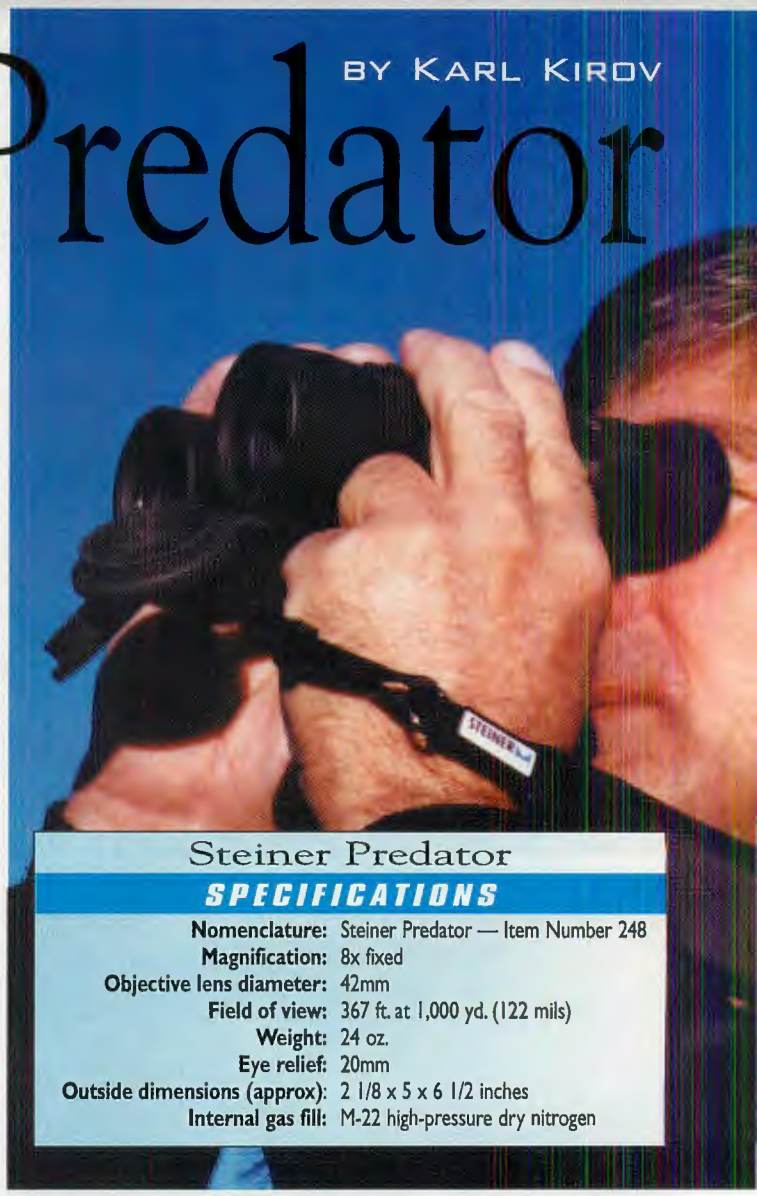
Continued on page 79

A Man's Job: The Steiner Predator

BY KARL KIROV

Some years ago, 90 pounds of lightweight gear didn't seem like all that much. I believed that, where optics were concerned, bigger was better. My gunnery sergeant had scoffed at miniaturized binoculars, declaring that you "shouldn't send a boy to do a man's job." In those days, my optics of choice were at least 10x50, sometimes larger, fairly bulky, and occupied a significant portion of my limited rucksack space. Today, although my 90 pounds of lightweight gear haven't gotten any lighter, optics have improved. When Steiner offered to loan me a set of binoculars for a trip to Afghanistan, I asked for something compact, thinking that I would compromise performance for size and weight. They sent me one of their Predator series, an 8x42 model that measured a mere 5 x 6 1/2 inches, and only weighed a pound-and-a-half. Since I was short on space, I decided not to take the factory-supplied carrying case. Wrapped in a 1-quart freezer bag, the instrument fit nicely sideways in the upper side pocket of my Lowe rucksack. I found that I could get to the binos, if necessary, without unshouldering the pack.

The first test of this unit was observing a B-52 mid-morning carpet-bomb raid west of Khoja Bahouddin. Even without a reticle, I was easily able to estimate mil intercepts by using the fact that the field of view is 60 mils either side of center. Although the hill line was shrouded in a light haze, the image quality was superb, allowing me to observe hostile personnel activity on an interceding ridgeline while tracking the bomb pattern. On this and subsequent days, I used the Predator under widely varied light conditions, and was consistently more than satisfied with its performance. The relatively small objective diameter didn't significantly affect its low-light capability, and its compactness gave me no excuse for not keeping it handy. The integral objective lens caps are a nice touch. These caps stuff into the objective recesses like corks, and are affixed to the binos' body by flexible straps. The wrap-around eye cups protect the eyepiece lenses enough to make additional caps unnecessary. In a sniper setting, I would be comfortable identifying targets with this instrument at ranges up to 800 meters under most daytime light conditions.



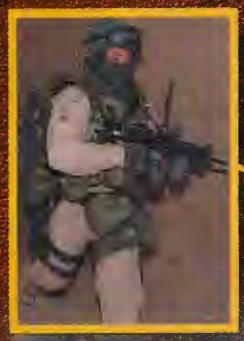
Steiner Predator

SPECIFICATIONS

Nomenclature:	Steiner Predator — Item Number 248
Magnification:	8x fixed
Objective lens diameter:	42mm
Field of view:	367 ft. at 1,000 yd. (122 mils)
Weight:	24 oz.
Eye relief:	20mm
Outside dimensions (approx):	2 1/8 x 5 x 6 1/2 inches
Internal gas fill:	M-22 high-pressure dry nitrogen

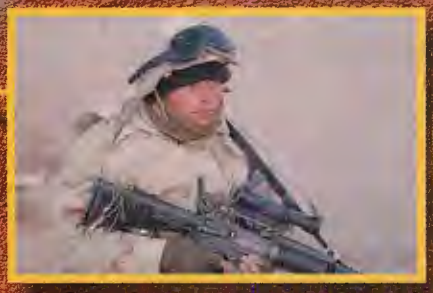
For catalogs and more information, contact: Pioneer Research (Steiner Sales and Marketing), 97 Foster Road, Suite 5, Moorestown, NJ 08057; Tel.: (800) 257-7742; (856) 866-9191.

Karl Kirov is a United States citizen and former U.S. Army officer. He has traveled and worked in Central America, Western Europe, and Southeast Asia. This is his second article about his recent excursion to Central Asia (see "Living High On The Afghan Plain," SOF, Feb 02). Kirov resides in Wyoming.



On the Front Lines of World War III WITH SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

PHOTOS COURTESY USMC



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Showdown IN Somalia?

The War On Terror Turns Toward Mogadishu

BY AL J. VENTER

With business almost done in Afghanistan, the U.S. is looking at other states where the *al-Qaida* influence is manifest. Already, some of our boys have gone into the Philippines. Iraq is somewhere near the top of the list, but Somalia, it seems, might be the first to enjoy the distinction. Interestingly, some of our Special Forces have already gone into Somalia to have a look.

The word is out in Mogadishu: Some of al-Qaida's Somali fighters who were involved in Afghanistan's war have returned home. You'd be putting your life at risk if you started to ask questions about them, or for that matter anything about Osama bin Laden.

It's a mean place, Mogadishu, made worse because, unlike Baghdad or Tehran, the place doesn't have a government. Instead, it's a country run by thugs. The people living there can do exactly what they like.

In Mogadishu you can die because of somebody's whim: They might not like your face, or perhaps they covet your Nike trainers. Worse, there's nobody willing or able to stop this anarchy. As recent returnees have testified, it's going on all the time. There is an interim government of sorts in Mogadishu, but its role was recently compared to that of a Boy Scout troop trying to bring order to a food riot at Attica.

If you want to know what Somalia is like today, Mark Bowden's book *Black Hawk Down* presents a pretty accurate picture of the country as it was in 1993. While things have eased up a little, not a lot has changed, especially when the shooting starts. And that can be anytime.

Throughout much of it, Bowden deals with a specific event that — with the loss of 18 American lives — became known as "The Battle of the Black Sea."

(above) Mogadishu from the Indian Ocean: once a graceful, delightful African city on the Horn of Africa, not much more than a shell of the original Italianate culture remains intact.

It was like that again early February when a punch-up rattled the few windows still left intact in downtown Mogadishu and resulted in about 50 dead, only this time it was all Somalis and the third such incident in a month.

The total number was arrived at arbitrarily and was said to have been about 250. Who really cares? More pertinent, exactly who is there to report on such things? Which sums up a situation that is arguably the worst the international community has seen for more than a century.

In contrast, the Taliban at least made an effort to follow something that resembled a codified system in its bid to keep the populace in tow. And while the big stick was part of the process and many of the laws imposed horrendous, Afghanistan civil structure wasn't anywhere near as insane as what's going on right now in the Horn of Africa.

Time In The Mog

Conditions for most of us hacks who spent time in Mogadishu in the early 90s were tough. They could also be dangerous and there were members of the press corps killed.

For the majority who didn't have the advantage of sleeping on base at one of the American military establishments — I ended up at a U.S. air base at Baledogle about 50 miles north of Mogadishu — it was more a matter of watching your back. Somalis — or "skinnies" as some of us would deprecatingly refer to them — were never first in line in the bravery stakes. Most would wait until dark before attempting to harm you. Any face-to-face confrontation was usually limited to when there was hundreds of them and perhaps a handful of us.

Interestingly, before the war started, I'd visited Mogadishu with my wife. Madelon and I went there on a week-long excursion from Nairobi and it was grim even then. But at least we had clean sheets in the same Olympia Hotel that features prominently in the film. Things deteriorated not long afterwards with the emergence of half-a-dozen warlords that were as demented as they were bloodthirsty. By the time U.S. forces arrived, you were taking your life in your hands just getting off the plane at Mogadishu Airport.

With the drought, the war and a lunatic fringe trying to take control, the number of people who ended up dead has been conservatively estimated at about a million, give or take a few hundred thousand either way.

A visit to the Somali capital — "The Dish" as U.S. forces called it — is essential in order to understand the complexity of that country's political struggles and the violence it has spawned. Somalia's revolution, like a miasmic virus, has infected an entire region.

Mogadishu sprawls. Approach the city from the sea during the monsoons and its an awesome mish-mash of muddy pools, piles of garbage, open sewers and everywhere, the turmoil of acres of pullulating crowds. The conglomeration stretched as far as you could see: In sheer size, the numbers really intimidated.

Mogadishu's international airport, even today, is no better, with clusters of smashed and mortared buildings and more wrecked aircraft lying about than any other terminal in the world. Curiously, though, there is still a lot of tension; in parts of the city there are restaurants that are crowded and some new construction is taking place.

The last time I did the trip by vehicle into town from the airport — shortly before the Americans pulled out — I was instructed to "stay well down; don't expose yourself because they sometimes snipe at us."

"If your vehicle stops and one of them tries to climb on board, hold on tight to your bags, your wallet, your glasses," a guard warned. With that we were off: a column of five United Nations vehicles headed into the fiery cauldron that became known around the world as Mogadishu.

We were escorted fore and aft by French-built APCs with their hatches shut. It wasn't a hopeful sign. Meanwhile I'd shifted forward and taken up position behind a couple of Omani soldiers manning a .50 Browning. The rest of the escort sat facing out, weapons cocked.

Nobody had forgotten the massacre of a squad of Pakistani troops by a hoard of Somali militants not very long before.

Our convoy headed northeast past the old Russian compound with the drivers turning left before we reached the Villagio Quattro Chilometri. Suddenly we were in a world more alien than anything I had experienced before, and not for lack of experience. I'd spent time at Baabda, the Beirut suburb during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon: That operation, at least, had some kind of shape to it; dangerous but not frenzied like this. Also, for all its excesses, Lebanon's was a more disciplined kind of war. Mogadishu was confusion and violence amid the dross of conflict.

From where I could observe what was going on around us, every building we passed had been blasted. The wrecks of cars and trucks blown apart by rockets and mortars lined the route. A burnt-out Humvee, crumbling into rust spoke eloquently of the events that had gone before. There was a time when any United States military vehi-

Rows of abandoned Russian jet fighter engines litter a field adjacent to the country's main military airfield at Baledogle, about 20 minutes flying time north of Mogadishu. Some muddle-headed Soviet functionary originally intended building an aircraft assembly plant there. Of course, nothing happened and millions of rubles were wasted.

cle was fair game for Mohammed Aideed's rag-tag fanatics with their heads in clouds of dope.

Our escorts had several hefty clubs and they didn't mind using them on the heads of those who tried to clamber onboard.

Nor was there any clear line of demarcation between the warring factions that we passed on the way into town.

Armed Adolescents

Every male — quite a few of them not yet into their teens — carried a weapon, usually the requisite AK, though there were a lot of RPGs around. The rest of the population, which included women, children, the aged and the maimed — milled about aimlessly on the road and off it, in and out of narrow alleys. There were hundreds of paths and improvised foxholes between the buildings and they seemed to have their purpose.

When we reached the market place after the 27th October Square, the throng overflowed on to the road and our convoy slowed to a crawl. It was as if the entire route had become a Middle Eastern souk. People were shouting, gesticulating — at us and at each other — arms flailing, faces contorted.

Many of the eyes were glazed, others bloodshot; the effects of Qat, an amphetamine leaf chewed in this part of Africa.

It's the same today. If you're not smuggling Qat, or are a member of an international aid team crazy enough to risk your life by volunteering to go and work there — or possibly on your way to see one of the demagogues about weapons — then you've got problems.

Travel into the interior of Somalia and the visitor will find that not very much has changed for centuries. Somalia was an Italian colony until World War II.

For a start, it'll seriously limit your ability to move about. Nobody goes anywhere in Somalia today without an armed escort, and to get one, you need to have good reason. Fail that elementary test and in the eyes of the average Somalia, you're an American spy. Or an Israeli, especially now that the word is out about al-Qaida having close ties with those who are in nominal control.

It was al-Qaida, coincidentally, that supplied the bulk of the RPG-7s that were used against U.S. forces in 1993. Indeed, there are some who maintain that it was bin Laden's activists that originally primed Mogadishu mobs in preparation for the confrontation that was featured in *Black Hawk Down.*

As for bin Laden's combatants who have returned to Somalia from Afghanistan, a source in Nairobi with close links to Kenya's coastal Islamic community, told *Soldier Of Fortune* that most of these fugitives escaped through Pakistan. From there, they were routed back to Africa on flights out of the Gulf.

He disclosed, too, that a group of more than a dozen Somalis, posing as crew, shipped out of Mombasa for Mogadishu in an Omani-owned *dhow* after the Taliban had collapsed. This is not unusual: Those motorized sailing boats are a colourful feature along the East African coast for many months of the year and Somalis are regarded to be among the most peripatetic of Africa's travelers. Moreover, they are in ready demand among Arab boat owners, a tradition that goes back centuries.

Inquiries in Mogadishu has meanwhile yielded nothing about the returnees, except that Somali police announced last January that it had arrested four Iraqi Kurds and a Palestinian thought to have links to the Saudi revolutionary.

For the rest, Mogadishu's interim government — sensitive to the long-term implications — denies flatly that any of its nationals were involved in Afghanistan's war. Or even that al-Qaida had a presence in the country. Washington believes otherwise, underscored by thousands of posters depicting bin Laden as an Islamic hero. They appeared overnight throughout the country after 11 September.

It seems that the control tower at Baledogle has never had windows. It was this way when the Americans arrived in the early '90s and, by all accounts, it doesn't have any today either. This airfield could become the focus of an attack force should Washington decide to go looking for terrorists in Somalia after it finishes the job in Afghanistan.

Eyes In The Sky

There is strong pressure in the

American capital to expand the search for members of Osama bin Laden's recruits to Africa's Horn, which is one of the reason why there are now four or five surveillance overflights conducted across Somalia each week.

In the U.S. view, according to America's Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, there is a compelling argument for doing so. Following the uncovering of caches of al-Qaida documents in Afghanistan, several Somali sites — including bases at Las Anod, in the north, and El Wak, near the Kenyan and Ethiopian frontiers — have been pinpointed as two of the most important al-Qaida training bases in Africa.

A typical Somalia town between Mogadishu, the capital, and Kismaiyu, one of the country's biggest ports to the south. The harbor lies towards the Kenyan border.

It has been common knowledge in Nairobi for a while now that another al-Qaida staging post was south of the port of Kismaiyu, not far from the Kenyan border. This was the same facility that was originally implicated in the terrorist bombing of U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam: Explosives used in both attacks came from that specific camp before they were sent by road to Kenya and Tanzania. Each time, we've been told in evidence, there were Somali couriers in charge.

More salient, some of those involved in a suicide bomb attack on the *U.S.S. Cole* in Aden harbor had Mogadishu connections. A Somali woman was identified as paymaster: She acquired the vehicles needed for the operation.

A Washington source has also shown that outside the Sudan, several Somali terrorist bases were among the first to have been established abroad by the Saudi terrorist leader in the mid-'90s. Other terrorist training camps mentioned in a preliminary report on Somali terrorism include Boosaaso, in the northeast, as well as Ras Kamboni Island, off the country's southern coast. There is, in addition, a substantial body of evidence that implicate fundamentalists from all of these training bases — as well as several others whose names remain classified, pending U.S. military action —— having been active militarily in several other regional wars, including Chechnya and Kashmir.

An important consequence of these developments is that American defense planners are considering several Somali sites for expanding a military presence in the region.

Several small groups of American Special Forces personnel are known to have used Ethiopian military bases to stage reconnaissance missions into the interior of Somalia. Following the CIA meeting with Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, they clandestinely met with several northern dissident tribal leaders last December: Among these dissidents were the commanders of the Rahanwein Resistance Army (RRA).

The authoritative Stratfor Group, of Austin, Texas, regards these gestures as cumulative and a possible prelude to precipitate military action in Northeast Africa.

A Shortage Of Friends

Enough has emerged about these sorties to indicate that Mohamed Ali Qalinle, head of the RRA, warmly welcomed the Americans when they arrived. It was he who offered them bases from which to tackle the warlords and more specifically, the *al-Itihaad* (*AI-AI* in U.S. TV media jargon), a Somali-based fundamentalist group with demonstrable links to bin Laden. It took a brave man to make that kind of gesture.

Elsewhere in Somalia, the United States is trying to expand ties of a more conventional nature. In northern Somalia, Washington appears to be finalizing a deal to use the port and airfield assets at Berbera, originally in the greater Somalia province of Woqooyi Galbeed and now regarded as a de facto part of the semi-autonomous Somaliland. When Somalia's civil war was at its worst, Somaliland hived off to a form a government of its own.

With its capital at Hargeisa — a dirty dusty little desert village —Somaliland under President Muhammed Ibrahim Egal has strived for years to achieve international recognition. Djibouti, a former French colony to its immediate north that is also said to have indeterminate terrorist links, has worked in concert with Mogadishu to thwart this effort. Significantly, Djibouti was the last port of call of the ship searched for terrorist weapons in the English Channel in January.

Continued on page 67

Abandoned wrecks of Russian fighters and bombers are to be found just about everywhere in-country: This was all that was left of one among the bushes at Baledogle.

The Myth Of "Island America"

911 Attacks Not the First!

BY FRANK HOPKINS

Groping for something meaningful to say in the wake of 9-11, network newsreaders lost no time intoning to their TV audiences that this tragedy was the first attack on the American mainland since the war of 1812. *Not!*

Astonishing as it may seem, the Majored-in-Communications/Flunked History talking heads were totally unfamiliar with the fact that over the past century or so mainland America had been bombed, torched, strafed, raided and shelled by various enemies — and that major portions of territory now a state had even been under extended enemy occupation during WWII.


EXTRA!

9 A.M. FINAL Los Angeles Times 9 A.M. FINAL

L.A. AREA RAIDED!

Today's Latest War Bulletins

Fifth-Column Acts Reported During Raids

Jap Planes Peril Santa Monica, Seal Beach, El Segundo, Redondo Long Beach, Hermosa, Signal Hill

Vortex Archives

Los Angeles Times *issued an Extra with Second-coming type, announcing Japanese air raid on Los Angeles that proved embarrassing at the time — but may have been true in fact, if not in scope.*

In addition, there are many unacknowledged events of the Cold War that are not yet ready to take their place in history.

Probably the best-known assaults the American mainland suffered were in early WWII, at the hands of the Japanese. It is interesting that even some contemporary newspaper accounts, and some historians, have cited those first Japanese attacks — naval artillery shelling of the Elwood Oil Field at Goleta, California — as the first time since the War of 1812 that the continental United States had come under hostile attack. Even then, this was not really true, although except activity on both sides during the War Between the States, the attack on Goleta was the first *intentional*, naval bombardment of a state.

Even though some Navy historians have cited Goleta as "the first time in the 20th Century that the continental United States was struck by gunfire from enemy forces afloat," that does not consider the incident in World War I when a German U-boat accidentally shelled the U.S. mainland when they overshot their target, a tug with a tow of barges off Cape Cod. The site where those shells landed is now marked by a sign that memorializes the incident.

Early Attacks

Historically, the first time the California coast came under hostile cannon fire it was from a U.S. vessel, as California in 1803 belonged to Spain. The fire came from the U.S. merchant brig *Leila Byrd*, in Spain's private lake poaching valuable sea otter. When the *Byrd* arrived on 17 March to "take on supplies" at San Diego, the Spaniards posted five soldiers on board to keep an eye on the *Yanquis*. The Yanks were soon caught smuggling otter pelts on board, of course, and the Spaniards grabbed three sailors and took them back to the fort. A Mr. Cleveland, one of the ship's owners, lead a party ashore and rescued his men without firing a shot.

The *Byrd* then weighed anchor, tied some Spanish soldiers along the gunwale to discourage the fort from firing its eight nine-pound cannon, and set sails to escape. During the 90-round exchange that followed notwithstanding the hostages tied to the gunwale, the *Byrd* lost some rigging but made good her escape, bringing her own six three-pounders to bear on the fort. There were no recorded injuries on ship or shore.

In 1818, still under the flag of Spain, the Goleta area was attacked by French Admiral Hippolyte de Bouchard. He anchored two frigates in Refugio Bay and sent a party of freebooters ashore to sack the town. Bouchard was technically not a pirate, as he was a mercenary in the employ of Argentina, then in a war of independence from Spain. With a letter of marque, he was engaging in legitimate harassment of Spanish

shipping and ports. Mexico, of course, fought her own war of independence from Spain and became a republic four years later.

In the subsequent U.S. war with Mexico, many points in California and the Southwest saw heated engagements. During the summer and fall of 1846 there were many expeditions by manifestly destined U.S. troops to secure Mexican territory for their own. Although both sides hotly contested Southern California, this was the United States attacking Mexico. One case where it was Mexico attacking the United States, however, was at Brownsville (then Fort Texas), Texas.

Three future American presidents (Zachary Taylor, U.S. Grant and Jefferson Davis) fought there, as did two Mexican officers who subsequently became presidents of Mexico. General Taylor had marched to the Rio Grande in February of 1846 to occupy a strip that had always been jointly claimed by Mexico and the Republic (then state) of Texas.

On the first of May, Taylor departed his base at Ft. Texas for Palo Alto, leaving behind a garrison of only 500, and on 3 May the Mexicans lay siege to the lightly defended fort. On 9 May a Mexican cannon ball hit Major Jacob Brown of Taylor's 7th Infantry in the leg. He died the same day. Upon his return to Ft. Texas, General Taylor renamed it Ft. Brown in honor of his fallen comrade, and when the town grew it was known as Brownsville.

World War I On the Border

During World War I, raids by assorted Mexican "banditos" along the border were sponsored and equipped by the German government as the initial stage of a grand scheme to foment a separatist nation to be composed of former Spanish holdings in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California that would be favorable to German interests.

AP/Wide World Photos

Damage recorded at time of L.A. attack was all from "friendly" AA duds falling to earth and exploding. This one at L. G. Landis residence would have nailed Miss Blanche Sedgwick and her niece, Josie Duffy, in bed, had they not gotten up to watch the fireworks.

Just what liaison existed between Germany and Japan in that time frame is not known, but Japanese were also involved in training Mexican operatives in the use of explosives. Japan had already tendered an offer to buy the Baja Peninsula from certain of the factions in Mexico (who hoped to use the proceeds to fight other factions).

Congress held hearings under the auspices of the Fall Committee to investigate the implications of documents captured at McMullen, Texas, in 1915 from a Mexican national, which outlined this "Plan of San Diego." Also investigated was an intercepted telegram from German foreign officer Dr. Alfred Zimmerman to the German ambassador to Mexico. This message reiterated the German proposal to form a separatist nation, and promised large-scale German technical and material assistance.

The proposed formation of a breakaway nation for Latinos, Negroes, Native Americans and Japanese was probably not something the Germans thought would produce a particularly viable ally: It was only hoped that such an insurrection would keep the United States occupied and out of the War to End All Wars, then raging in Europe. Although it might have looked good on paper in Berlin, the way it worked out was that "Blackjack" Pershing earned his spurs along the border, then went to France and helped kick the Kaiser's butt. *C'est le guerre.*

German sponsorship of the bandito raids and sabotage along America's southern border was well documented, and yielded many captured German weapons. Once they identified them, the banditos did not raid nor harm ethnic Germans north of the border. Captured banditos testified they had been promised extensive aid from "the *Aleman*" (Germany). There was also official Mexican assistance to known German agents (rail and telephone passes, etc.), but in the final analysis the attacks were more of a police problem than a viable military campaign.

Melly Clistmas, Yankee Dog

To continue their momentum after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese had planned a large-scale, orchestrated attack on all important and accessible West Coast American cities — or their nearest lighthouse — for Christmas Eve, 1941.

The Japanese planned to position nine submarines, seven of which carried amphibian Glen light bombers, as follows: I-26 off Cape Flattery in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, I-25 off Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia River, I-9 off Cape Mendocino, I-15 off San Francisco, I-23 off Monterey Bay, I-21 off Estero Bay, I-19 off Los Angeles, and the I-10 off San Diego.

The salient feature of the I-15 Class submarine was that they were designed to carry their amphibian bomber in a watertight hangar and catapult it from the forward deck. The combination of a 5.5-inch gun, torpedoes, and bomber-

AP/Wide World Photos

Japanese sub sneaked in with Astoria fishing fleet, shelled Ft. Steven, Oregon, in June 1942. Major damage was to a baseball backstop and this skunk-cabbage swamp. Lt. Col. Porter Gregory fishes crater for souvenir shell fragments. (Locals just busted up old cook stoves for fragments to sell to tourists.)

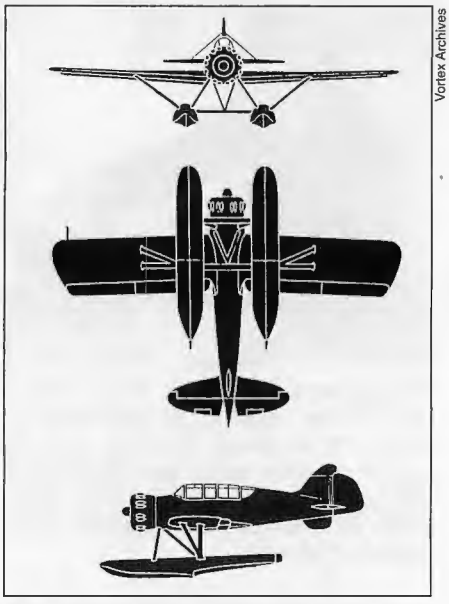
launching capability made the I-15 Class subs an effective scouting and harassment weapon, used to solid effect all along the West Coast from California to the Aleutians.

The Japanese hoped that such large-scale shelling and bombing would create fear and confusion among the American people and cause the United States to hold back large numbers of naval, land and air forces for defense of the American mainland, which then could not be used against the Japanese in the Pacific.

This might have been the case had the attack proceeded, but the Japanese lost courage and the attack was not to be. After the attacks on Pearl Harbor and American shipping in the Pacific, the Americans had mobilized everything that could fly or float to patrol the West Coast. The Japanese did not want to risk their daring undersea raiders to these "very severe" counter-measures, and the week before Christmas the Japanese Submarine Force Department ordered the fleet back to Kwajalein. The Japanese sub fleet was spotted at Kwajalein and attacked by U.S. naval air forces, and it was in reprisal for this that Goleta, California, was attacked.

Badgering the Eagle

As World War II progressed, however, the Japanese submarine fleet would come to strike the West Coast of mainland America again and again with artillery and bombers. The I-25 attacked Oregon three times in 1942: She shelled Battery Russel at Ft. Stevens (with damage only to a swamp, some wires and a baseball backstop) and twice launched her amphibian bomber to drop incendiary bombs on the forests of southwestern Oregon



Vortex Archives

Most Japanese I-15 class subs carried a Glen (Type Zero E14Y1) floatplane designed at Yokosuka Navy Arsenal and built by Kyushu. Craft was started inside deck hangar, then rolled out and its wings unfolded; launched by catapult, retrieved at mission's end with crane. Such a plane from the I-25 twice bombed southern Oregon.

(again with little effect, due to the climate and weather). The Japanese torpedoed many merchant vessels in coastal waters, and shelled Point Estewan, British Columbia. Their most telling role, of course, was in the repeated sinking of unarmed Allied shipping during the early stages of the war.

Aside from the extensive Japanese air attacks on Dutch Harbor, Alaska, before they occupied the Aleutian Islands of Kiska and Attu, probably the most substantial damage inflicted on actual American states was done by their terrorist ordnance balloons, many of which made it over the Rockies into the American Heartland. The only deaths recorded from these unmanned balloons were a woman and five children of a Sunday-school picnic in southern Oregon. Had they been launched in the dry part of the year the results could have been devastating, but the minimal results they did achieve were kept so secret the Japanese assumed they were not reaching their target, and abandoned the program in favor of spending their waning resources elsewhere. The balloons came down in Alaska, Alberta, Arizona, British Columbia, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Manitoba, Mexico, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Saskatchewan, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, Wyoming and the Yukon Territory — some even came down at sea a couple hundred miles from Tokyo!

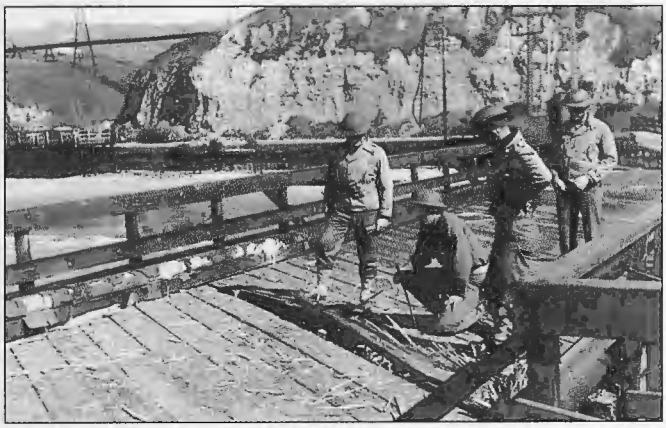
The Battle Of Los Angeles

The most dramatic attack on the American mainland in WWII may or may not have happened, as the Fog of Battle is not necessarily predicated upon having a battle. The "Battle of Los Angeles" is a case in point. The day after Pearl Harbor, the Los Angeles Harbor Defense Journals contained the following rather hysterical entries:

- from the Chief of Naval Operations: *Secret Intelligence Rating Affirm indicates attack on west coast by this same or another raiding force as soon as Jap ships can get into position … attack expected to be by dive bombers and torpedo planes accompanied by submarine attacks from inside harbors. You will take steps so far as lies within your power in cooperation with Army to prevent repetition of successes at Hawaii and*

U.S. Army Air Corps, courtesy Vortex Archives

The Japanese bombed Dutch Harbor, Alaska, twice, causing 78 deaths and the loss of 14 American aircraft, at about the time Yamamoto was losing four major carriers and thousands of men at Midway.



AP/Wide World Photos

When Japanese sub shelled the target-rich environs of the Elwood oil field at Goleta, California in February 1942, they only caused about $500 damage to docks and sheds, missing tank farm completely. Arty commander Capt. Barney Hagen (kneeling) examines damage to oil pier.

to destroy enemy carriers ...

• from the Assistant Commandant, 11th Naval District, Long Beach: *We may expect an attack at dawn ...*

• from the 4th Interceptor Command: *Attack by enemy aviation, sub and surface craft imminent tonight. All precautions will be taken against surprise ...*

• from Assistant Commandant, 11th Naval District: *San Francisco and Seattle being attacked ...*

Although the actual effect of the subsequent shelling of the Elwood Oil Fields at Goleta would be minimal, the psychological effect had been to illustrate to all concerned that the war had come home, and that America was vulnerable to attack by a foreign invader. How vulnerable? The earliest contingency plans called for making the stand at the Rocky Mountains, to protect the industrial heartland. Fortunately, the Japanese realized they were overextended, but did *not* know how unprepared was the United States, and took into careful consideration that the American people were well armed and would fight.

The night following the 23 February 1941 attack on Goleta by the I-17 saw many nervous alerts, but they were all canceled by 2230. Early the next morning the then-new radar picked up a plane and AA units got ready to fire. Pursuit planes scrambled, awaiting definitive information on the number and location of the attacking Jap planes. Radar trackers followed a blip to within a few miles of shore by 0220. A blackout was put into effect. Citizens swamped the switchboards with reports of enemy planes. Enemy planes were reported over Long Beach.

A coastal artillery unit spotted a formation of two-dozen planes at 12,000 feet over Los Angeles. The 205th AA unit launched a meteorological balloon with a red flare over Santa Monica. At 0300 four AA batteries opened up on it, which really pulled the rag off the bush.

Almost immediately the air over Los Angeles became a hurricane of flying steel as AA batteries opened up on each other's airbursts. For the next three hours Japanese planes flew out of the public imagination and swarmed across our shores like armed lemmings. Some came singly, some in massive formations, some at treetop, some at great height, some at stall speed, some racing toward vulnerable targets inland.

Filter centers were awash with conflicting reports. The skies were awash with fire and light while shrapnel, lacking a target, fell to earth in a constant rain from the 1,440 rounds that were sent aloft. History records that the sober light of dawn disclosed few casualties: there was one heart attack and spent shell fragments perforated as trolley car, and a dud AA round fell to earth at the Hugh Landis residence, where it exploded and blew holes in his house and garage, and punctured the gas tank on his car.

AP/Wide World Photos

Thousands of terrorist balloon bombs were launched from Idaraki Prefecture; this one, sans bomb, made it as far as the Roland North farm in Bigelow, Kansas, where it snagged a tree in February 1945. (inset) Many carried 33-pound anti-personnel bomb, one of which killed a woman and five kids in Oregon; incendiaries were also carried.

The Navy maintained there was never any evidence of enemy planes. Since the Army started the shooting, they didn't want to talk about it. The later, official, explanation by Secretary of War Stimson was that there were two possibilities — the Japanese flew "commercial" planes from secret airfields in Mexico, or that these were light planes launched from Japanese submarines.

Unaware the second possibility cited by Secretary Stimson really *could* have been true, the public did not buy either official explanation. Secretary of the Navy Knox continued to say there *were* no planes. Army commanders modified their statements from having spotted planes to a "belief' that one to five enemy planes had been over Los Angeles.

This prompted the *Washington Post* to ask why, if we thought the Japs were piloting five planes over the city, didn't we send up some fighters? Well, were we the local Air Corps commander, we'd surely have had second thoughts about sending *our* fighters into such a maelstrom of our own flak.

The answer that evolved at the time was simple: Nervous AA batteries, like the press, sometimes have problems of perception. And AA batteries, like the press, are wont to shoot quickly and loudly — but not always accurately.

The definitive history, however, should record that at least one plane *was* shot down. *SOF* reader David Nixon was eye-witness to a plane that was "yellow, with the red-dot" insignia being hit in the air, to crash in flames off Belmont Shore Boulevard in Long Beach. Could this have been the "commercial" plane to which Secretary Stimson alluded? Nixon's older friend Forest Bacon was on the crew that picked up the downed plane, and his uncle, then serving with ONI, apologized to Nixon before his death for having denied what Nixon saw. Aside from the inevitable fog, the first casualty of war often is the truth.

You-All Come Back, Heah?

Meanwhile, back at the Goleta oilfields, the frustrated artillerymen who had been unequipped to fire back at the initial attack, now had new 105mm howitzers and were lying in wait. It was assumed the Japanese would return once they realized they had barely scratched this important target, and trap was set.

First Sergeant Newman and Lieutenant Jasper Stevens spent three nights secretly stringing commo wire along the seaside oil wharves. Under cover of darkness new 105mm howitzers from Battery C, then bivouacked at Garden City, were dismantled and brought to the Barnsdall and Signal docks at Goleta in commercial moving vans. Gunners accompanied their guns dressed as oil workers in civvies, armed only with a GI .45 stock in their belt.

Only the gun sections of Battery C came to Goleta., the remainder staying in Santa Barbara. Battery A then overtly left their beach positions and moved generally southward. They left behind Quaker guns in their organic positions, to give the impression they were no longer needed there.

At Goleta they built small shacks, just big enough to hide a 105 and with break-away sides, at the end of the oil piers. The crews climbed below the wharves to the "partially cleaned out" oil pits, getting as comfortable as they could, and waited like spiders for the Japs to return.

Continued on page 78

Philippines: Round Two In "GWOT"

More Than Meets the Eye

BY DR. TOM MARKS

Now that the Philippines has become the "second front" in the aptly called "Global War On Terrorism" — GWOT — the prophets of doom and gloom have again found their stride.

Surely, they argue, this is all a mistake, a blunder of some magnitude! Indeed, could it be, unlike Afghanistan, "another Vietnam?"

It's astonishing how quickly that phrase, like a Stealth bomber, has flown back into the discussions from Washington to Hawaii.

In the latter, the liberal *Honolulu Advertiser* gravely warned in editorial comment (not once but twice!) that "our current concern must not lead us into a quagmire not of our making and over which we will never have adequate control."

Lest the point be missed, the paper intoned: "If conducted with the greatest restraint and discretion, the U.S. mission can benefit the Philippines even as it achieves a U.S. objective by terminating an al-Qaida [AQ] link. But, as we learned in Vietnam, the dangers of unintended consequences are high."

In Washington itself, not to be outdone at home, Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-Hawaii) — now spelled here, in PC fashion, Hawai'i — asked for hearings of the House Armed Services Committee "at the earliest opportunity."

He was concerned, he observed, that the various terms for the U.S. presence, such as "exercise" and "training opportunity," were being used "to mask the truth — that American soldiers have been sent into a hostile area to help kill or capture members of a criminal organization."

Makes sense to me. Doesn't even seem that perplexing. We used to take pride in singing that line in the Marine Corps hymn, which ends with "...to the shores of Tripoli."

Of course, that isn't really Neil's point. That's the Vietnam bogey:

"[B]efore embarking on an enterprise as problematic as the one in the Philippines, we owe the American public and our military personnel a clearer definition of what we are doing and how we intend to do it."

True, there are those who could rightly point out that public discussion of missions and means aren't quite how campaigns are conducted. Still, the Representative does have a point. Where's the Philippines and what are we doing there?

Problem With A Long History

If you have to ask that question, though, it can only mean you haven't been reading *Soldier Of Fortune*. The magazine has been in the field with the troops for longer than two decades.

Most of our work has covered the fight against the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New People's Army (NPA). Yet, regularly, the Muslim conflict in the Mindanao area would require an *SOF* presence. It is this battle that has now drawn our national attention.

Its parameters hardly need detailing. Even as Manila faced a burgeoning communist threat in the 1970s, it found itself distracted by the need to address the separatist struggle of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the southern islands (see Sidebar).

Continued efforts by the MNLF to reach a settlement with the Christian-dominated government led to the breakaway in 1978 of a more radical group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Even more radical than either the MNLF or MILF was yet a third splinter, formed in 1990, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG).

Key distinctions between the three lay in their degree of Islamism. While MNLF was secular in its goals, willing to accept non-believers within an independent or autonomous Muslim polity, MILF demanded creation of an independent state ruled by Islamic law. ASG took this a final step in viewing as unfit even nonfundamentalist strands of Islam.

Cause of the splits lay in trends within the Islamic world,

now much more familiar to us than before "9-11." These have seen the dominant, tolerant Sunni thread challenged by radical Shiite interpretations — as best exemplified by Iran — and still further by the ultra-orthodox Wahhibism of Taliban — and, significantly — Saudi Arabia.

It was through increasing expatriate work in the Middle East — especially Saudi Arabia — and participation in the Saudi and Pakistani-dominated Muslim resistance against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, that Filipino Muslims brought home a virulent form of Islam not common in the live-and-let-live world of Southeast Asia. This combined with local circumstances to produce the intolerance so salient in MILF, as well as the Frankenstein-like actions of ASG.

Manila has met these developments with a combination of "right and left hand," with a combined military and political response. The "MNLF problem," for example, was apparently "solved" in 1996, during the presidency of Fidel Ramos (1992-98), with the formation of an Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) comprised of four provinces in Mindanao: Sulu, Tawi, Tawi, Maguindanao, and Lanao del Sur. In the local elections that followed, the MNLF emerged victorious, and Nur Misuari was elected governor.

MILF intransigence, though, ultimately resulted in the resumption of full-scale military operations in April-May 2000 at the order of President Joseph Estrada, shortly before his impeachment on various corruption charges. His successor, vice-president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (GMA), who assumed office in January 2001, suspended the "all out war" against the MILF the very next month in favor of renewed negotiations.

These continue. A particular sticking point is the MILF demand that its major military base and training areas, which had fallen to the AFP assault, be returned. This, the government has been unwilling to do.

The very existence of the issue, however, shines a spotlight on the weakest element of Manila's approach to date: the toleration of major concentrations of separatist military power within the national boundaries. Allowing their existence, far from serving to facilitate peaceful resolution of grievances, has merely led to a higher level of violence each time impasse has given way to martial strife.

For the MILF has merely used the breathing space to beef up its military formations and to up dramatically training and arms acquisitions. More crucially, disgruntled Islamists have decamped to join ASG.

ASG itself remains controversial in much the same manner as FARC in Colombia: It does a great deal of nasty stuff — the same trio as found down Bogota Way — drugs, kidnapping, extortion — so can ASG "really" be a political body? This leads us to where Representative Neil came in.

The Saudi "9-11" groupies — and bin Laden himself —

Armed U.S. SF soldier on recon mission around Basilan Island. U.S. forces are part of joint military exercise aimed at destroying Muslim extremist group Abu Sayyaf — linked to Osama bin Laden's terror network.

AP Photo/Aaron Favila

have emphasized the point that poverty is not the source of terrorism. Yet societal dysfunction provides the grievances that allow ideologically-minded types to proffer "solutions."

If they take the time and possess the discipline to mobilize the potential mass base into an alternative society, an infrastructure (normally clandestine), we have insurgency. If they simply strike out, using potential followers as little more than a support base for a strategic approach which cannot lift itself beyond violence, we end up with terrorism. In either case, mistakes can be made.

ASG, then, certainly thinks of itself as fighting "the good fight." That it is organizationally lazy in a manner rarely tolerated by either the CPP or the Islamic radical organizations, MNLF and MILF, is also the case. This is the very reason the group is vulnerable — it has alienated a lot of folks.

Increasingly, ASG has taken the "easy way out," foregoing the difficult work of "armed politics" for the easy pickings of crime. Most of its victims are fellow Filipinos. Hence, if they can be protected, informants are in easy supply.

Be this as it may, what has not changed is the willingness of both MNLF and MILF to tolerate ASG actions, and the ease with which individual ASG combatants move in and out of those Islamic bodies. For, when all is said and done, they remain "fellow fighters" in the larger Islamic struggle for "justice" within the Philippines.

So how did these criminals come to be a U.S. target?

Emergence Of A Terrorist Threat

Had ASG "left it at that," it would be a local law and order problem. Instead, it has increasingly worked with other groups to destabilize both the Philippines and the likes of Malaysia and Indonesia.

The most glaring illustration of the first: When Nur Misuari found himself ousted from the MNLF leadership and subject to a scheduled gubernatorial vote which he was sure to lose, he led his followers in an ugly revolt and then fled to Malaysia (where he was detained in November 2001 and subsequently extradited back to the Philippines). His manpower had been trained by and included ASG elements.

To illustrate the second: Evidence uncovered by Indonesian and Malaysian intelligence has fingered ASG and its international ties in the ongoing radical Islamic revolts going on in both countries. That in Indonesia has reached the guerrilla war stage in Aceh and other areas; that in Malaysia remains in the organizational stage.

It was this reality that confronted the Bush administration in the aftermath of 9-11. Faced with the State Department's inability to do much of anything in a timely, coordinated fashion — as called for in a war effort — the administration asked each CINC (our regional military commanders-in-chief) to submit recommendations for follow-on targets (i.e. "AG time," After Afghanistan).

Apparently, CINCPAC's (Commander-in-Chief, Pacific) recommendation on the Philippines was timely, persuasive, and "do-able." These three factors were inextricably linked — and cannot be separated in the case of "why the Philippines?"

Unlike much press speculation, ASG was not chosen due to the recent kidnapping of U.S. citizens *per se*. Neither was the U.S. attacking "the Muslim problem" outlined above. Instead, it was focusing upon raising the Philippine capacity to deal with the specific facet of the Muslim problem, which has been of concern to us: the radical fringe, of which ASG was the organizational target.

To that end, the cutting edge was the deployment of several Special Forces (SF) companies from several battalions of the 1st Special Forces Group (Airborne), headquartered at Ft. Lewis (with troops moving from both there and Okinawa). To support them, a reported additional 600 servicemen were deployed. With them, as impact assistance to the AFP, went an ostensible $100 million in arms and equipment grants (a figure official sources have been unable to confirm).

Provisions of the post-Marcos rewriting of the Philippine constitution prohibited foreign forces from engaging in combat on Manila's soil, so the sobriquet "exercise" was adopted. On the ground, the SF troopers were under no illusions as to their mission. "FID and COIN," said one. "UW and FID," said another.

Cutting through the confusion of acronyms created by our post-Vietnam military, SF was being sent to do what SF has always done when our allies are threatened from within — impart the skills of "internal war." That we've proved rather more adept at the military side of the equation than "hearts and minds" is precisely what worries the critics.

Dr. Tom Marks

Why are we in the Philippines? If you have to ask that question, though, it can only mean you haven't been reading* Soldier Of Fortune. *The magazine has been in the field with the troops for longer than two decades.

photos: AP Photo/Aaron Favila

Filipino Scout Rangers are briefed prior to training mission at Scout Ranger base camp on Basilan Island as part of joint U.S.–Philippine military exercises.

U.S. Air Force personnel guide Humvee out of C-130 transport plane at Edwin Andrews airbase in southern port city of Zamboanga, Philippines.

Not so the SF. True, the most visible component of our effort, the "joint training patrols" to be conducted with Filipino forces, is designed to impart the warfighting skills which have just made Taliban collapse. But the real point is to "foster synergy" as one SF Major put it to me.

That is, what makes us so dangerous on the battlefield in the New World Order is neither our training nor our technology so much as the manner in which we put all the pieces together. It has been the inability of army after army to make the gears of modern military power mesh which has led to their undoing — hapless Iran and Iraq in their 8-year mutual bloodletting come immediately to mind, followed by the pathetic display of Baghdad in the Gulf War.

Manila has long experience in counterinsurgency and has done quite well in its recent conflicts — it was victorious against the CPP while we were losing in Vietnam. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the CPP campaign (see Sidebar), Filipino forces were allowed to deteriorate and reached a dangerous point of material shortcoming. Enter the U.S. Cavalry.

Background To Conflict

Armed confrontation between the MNLF's military wing, the *Bangsa Moro Army* (BMA), and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) erupted after Ferdinand Marcos' 1972 declaration of martial law, peaked during 1973-75, and remained in a state of political and military standoff after a 1977 ceasefire collapsed. Thereafter, the war was smaller than it had been in 1973-75, but it still killed thousands each year.

The impact upon the military was enormous, as it expanded substantially. By mid-1982, the combined total of army, marine, and PC combat battalions numbered 70 (later 71). At the height of the fighting, most of which was conventional in nature, a single army brigade commanded by Salvador Mison — who would eventually become the Number Two in the entire AFP system — had assigned to it on Mindanao 12 maneuver battalions — a larger force than had been available to the entire army in 1972!

As late as 1978, in fact, nearly 80% of all available government maneuver battalions were committed against a BMA force once estimated at 30,000, later reduced to 10-12,000, rather than against the more urgent threat, the CPP's New People's Army (NPA). It was only in 1982 that even half of the military's available maneuver assets were thrown into the counterinsurgency campaign. A comparable amount of assets remained tied up with the MNLF problem.

There was some cooperation between the MNLF and the CPP. Though it could certainly be held that the goals of the communists were in conflict with those of the Muslims, "progressive" Muslim elements favored such cooperation. And MNLF leader Nur Misuari not only had known CPP leader Jose Ma. Sison, but had for a brief time actually been a CPP member.

In time, even the more traditional leaders, who saw communism as anathema to all the Muslim religion represented, were willing to sanction some degree of tactical coordination. The general CPP approach to revolt also presented lessons, which the MNLF absorbed.

Hence, even as the CPP began to expand substantially in the decade of the 1980s — and the Filipino economy sputtered — the MNLF revolt remained an ongoing proposition which tied up approximately half of the Philippine armed forces and served as a costly drain on scarce resources.

Had the Muslims been willing to effect a joint operation with the communists — an unlikely yet possible proposition — Manila would have faced serious difficulties in responding. As it was, the dramatic expansion of the armed forces which was required to meet the threat of the MNLF revolt actually provided additional forces which were eventually shifted to fight the NPA.

To return to the details outlined above, Islamic radicalism, at the time *SOF* was focusing upon the counterinsurgency against the CPP, was represented principally by the MNLF. It was supplanted by the MILF.

Though Filipino Muslim veterans of the Afghan conflict returned in some numbers to the MILF (and even to the MNLF), it was in ASG that the real hard core found a home. ASG included in its schemes the same sort of plans, which we have seen, exposed all over the world since 9-11. In particular, it saw itself not only as local Filipino Islamists but also as part of the larger struggle against "America, Christians, and Jews."

Thus it sent personnel to AQ camps in Afghanistan and provided safe havens and personnel for radical Islamic schemes. In 1995, Filipino police thwarted an AQ plot, based in the Philippines and led by Ramzi Yousef of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, to simultaneously bring down 11 American airliners (using bombs with timers), as well as to assassinate the Pope, who was scheduled to visit Manila.

Similarly, when Singapore police in January of this year arrested 13 members of an AQ sleeper cell there, links with Islamic radicals in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines were discovered which led to further arrests.

It is precisely this sort of connection which ultimately prompted the "Philippines next" decision, not individual kidnappings or even the larger threat of Filipino Islamic radicalism.

And the Philippines is a particularly appropriate target. For AQ is a terrorist group of a particular kind, a true multinational. All its manpower has come from "somewhere else," and it makes its bases "wherever."

In particular, its leadership has been generated by the various Islamic radical insurgencies presently going on in the likes of Saudi Arabia (pretty low key), Egypt (ham-

Most of our work has covered the fight against the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New People's Army (NPA). Yet, regularly, the Muslim conflict in the Mindanao area would require an SOF presence.

Whatever Happened To The CPP?

When last *SOF* left the Communist Party of the Philippines, or CPP (see "The 'Tet' That Never Was: The Faded Banner of Philippine Communism," June 1997), the movement was down for the mandatory 8-count. Unable to deal with the government's *Lambat Betag* ("Net Trap") campaign strategy, the CPP saw its combatant forces in the New People's Army (NPA), which at their 1987 peak had numbered 25,200, down to what the order-of-battle put at just over 6,000 (other sources claimed closer to 4,000).

Its National Democratic Front had turned to open opposition; and its mass base was deserting in droves, to the extent that some 80% had gone over to the government side by the early 1990s. Intra-CPP factionalism ripped the party into at least three identifiable factions, and in the most solidly infiltrated island of all, Negros, a rival Revolutionary Proletarian Army (RPA) dwarfed in size the NPA remnants.

It was at this point that the Philippines stumbled. Turning its attention to pressing matters of political and economic development, which had been put on hold in order to deal with the communists, Manila downgraded the threat to one of "law and order" rather than "insurgency."

Emergency legislation was terminated, the CPP was declared a legal entity, and the Philippine National Police (PNP) were given total counterinsurgency responsibilities in 21 of the 74 provinces and several other smaller areas nationwide. Government figures in 1994 listed the PNP as responsible for security in 30,000 villages (*barangay*) as opposed to 12,000, which remained the AFP's responsibility. Plans were well underway to turn the entire counterinsurgency mission to the PNP as called for by law.

To carry out the cutting edge functions hitherto done by the military, a police Special Action Force (SAF) was formed, manned in larger part by former Philippine Constabulary members, that body having been disbanded in 1992. So changed was the overall security environment that some Philippine politicians called for the abolition of the key link

mered of late but still there), and Algeria (virulent even now). The manpower has come from Muslim communities worldwide (even America) but generally from the marginalised strata so prevalent in the likes of Pakistan and Yemen — or the southern Philippines.

In this respect, the Filipino Muslim community is a particularly dangerous group for several seasons:

- It fits the profile just detailed and, in fact, has sent numerous individuals to the AQ fold. Many of them have returned to the Philippines.
- There, they have engaged in increasingly more dangerous anti-US actions such as the 1995-planned spectacular. Those who have not "hid out" with ASG specifically have nonetheless made use of the radical Islamic fringe which is ASG's support base.
- Further, the widespread facility with English of Filipinos and the extensive presence of Filipino expatriates globally provides a receptive "medium" for AQ operatives in which to operate.
- Intelligence has pointed to a growing number of such operatives being produced within the Philippines itself — ASG having reached a critical mass such that it had begun to attract any radical, aggrieved Muslim determined to make a personal statement.
- This radicalism, in turn, was reaching back into both the MNLF and MILF — both of which remain heavily armed — turning the "problem" in the Muslim southern Philippines into a larger threat to the territorial integrity of a friendly state.
- Further, from their haven in the southern Philippines, these same radical Islamic elements were effecting ties with other Southeast Asian Islamic radicals, thus confronting the US with the specter of a much larger problem in the not-too-distant future.

At this point, one needs to factor in the other two elements mentioned earlier. The statement from CINCPAC detailing the above — or something close to it — lands on the desk of the policy planners "before the others," and the problem is a slice (of the larger problem) which is "doable" — and involves a U.S. ally of longstanding, to boot.

Naturally, if one reads back through past *SOF* articles, it should be clear that we hold rather a higher opinion of the Filipino security forces than many — we think we know them better than critics. They can do a good job.

They suffer from the same problems as, again, the Colombian forces: a lack of operational funding and a lack of key pieces of equipment. The reason is not hard to find — a country the size of North and South Vietnam combined, with 80 million people, has a GDP of but $60 billion. (Singapore, with 4 million people, has a GDP of $100 billion — so does Colombia, with half the Filipino population and similar problems.) That's why our aid can serve as such a force multiplier.

As GMA herself has astutely pointed out, poverty does serve as a breeding ground for "grievance guerrillas." Yet, increasingly, what we see taking the field are not those committed to fighting for social justice but those committed to wreaking mayhem.

For those such as ASG, everyone is the enemy. In words captured in Ramzi Yousef's computer: "All people who support the U.S. government are our targets in our future plans and that is because all those people are responsible for their government's actions and they support the US foreign policy and are satisfied with it."

A "criminal organization" could not have said it any better! Sounds like a group we need to help an ally "kill or capture."

Dr. Tom Marks is a West Point grad and a frequent contributor to SOF.

in the chain of victory, the local militia, or Citizen Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGU).

Though the unit was not disbanded, numbers in the "Regular CAFGU" were cut sharply, and the "strike force" capability embodied in the "Special CAFGU" was eliminated.

All of this coincided with the failure of the Philippine Senate to ratify the Philippine American Cooperation Treaty of 1991 (PACT) and the consequent departure of the American presence.

Into the vacuum stepped the still dangerous CPP. Led by its founder and previous head, Jose Ma. Sison, the party patiently mobilized marginalised individuals into its mass base, returned fighting fronts to its order-of-battle, and formed guerrilla units. Assassinations reappeared, and "revolutionary taxation" (kidnapping and extortion) assumed a greater proportion of the CPP funding effort than had historically been the case.

By the time President Ramos' single 6-year term as president was up in 1998 — his place to be taken by his vice president, former actor Joseph Estrada — the CPP was in reasonable shape. Its debilitating factionalism had been arrested, and NPA combatants were back up to a solid level which now is put at 13,000.

The CPP has been unable as yet to reconstitute its mass base — after two bloody wars courtesy of those who would force "people's democracy" down the throats of the populace, communists are less than popular. Still, it has proved capable of inflicting pain. An 11 February 2001 attack on a small detachment in Samar Province (where *SOF* has operated since early 1986), for instance, saw 7 soldiers killed, 5 wounded; and a mid-November ambush in Davao Oriental Province left a reported 18 army dead and 6 wounded — apparently, the single largest military combat loss to NPA action in at least a decade.

Al-Qa'ida Body Counts

Sitrep From Afghanistan

BY ODIN CROWE

Military personnel returning from the war on terrorism in Afghanistan have told *Soldier Of Fortune* some shocking information. Sources tell of confirmed kills so high that the numbers are staggering, if not mind-boggling. Most are claiming that fighting the *al-Qa'ida* was like shooting fish in a barrel. The enemy used the highly unsuccessful shooting position known as the "Iraqi Offhand," in which the AK-47 is held over the head and sprayed at the opponent in a haphazard, mostly ineffective manner.

Unconfirmed body counts are numbering 90 to 120 per man. One body count alleged by a U.S. Army sniper was 300 killed in a month-and-a-half. These numbers are incredible at first glance, but may be plausible if one thinks about the terrain and weapons systems that our military personnel are employing. Most of Afghanistan is wide-open terrain perfect for long-range shooting, as long as one can read wind effectively. In other words, Afghanistan is alleged to be a sniper's paradise. The enemy can be engaged from a distance relatively safe to the shooter, due to weapon capabilities, and with the use of supporting arms, those al-Qa'ida trying to run away are cut off by mortar, artillery and close-air support. So it may be safe to say that the weapon with the most confirmed kills to its name is the radio used in calling in supporting arms fire. Although we do not know whether the body counts are including airstrikes and supporting arms fire called in upon the enemy.

American operators on the prowl for bin Laden, and surviving al-Qa'ida fighters. Their mission may soon be a wrap.

Soldier Of Fortune can neither confirm nor deny these body count numbers. We find these numbers confounding and somewhat inflated, although it has been confirmed by more than one source, all of which are in separate units, and in some cases, in separate services.

The military snipers causing hate and discontent to the al-Qa'ida resistance are armed with M14s as well as precision bolt guns equipped with high-level optics, such as the Marine Corps' M40A1 or the Army's M24, both of which are built on Remington actions, and can reach out and touch someone effectively out to 1,000 meters. If the U.S. military sniper is equipped with the .50 M82 Sasser, he can take out a thin-skinned vehicle, or other "hard target" at distances well beyond that of his contemporaries armed with .30 caliber weapon systems, thus creating a higher body count.

The standard weapon of the al-Qa'ida and most of our enemies is the AK-47 which has an effective range, for all intensive purposes, of 350 meters. It is chambered for the 7.62X39mm round, which isn't exactly known for its inherent accuracy. It is a cheap, easily manufactured weapon found in Third World and former Soviet-allied countries spanning the globe. The AK-47 can take an absolute beating compared to its Western counterparts, and requires little cleaning or maintenance. In fact, the weapon can be fired, usually without stoppages and jamming, with actual dirt and crud within the guts of the system. Once in a while a highly trained soldier equipped with an exceptional AK-47 can hit a target at 500 yards. This is the exception rather than the rule.

The M4, the preferred weapon of the Special Forces community, has an effective range of 550 meters on a man target, and 800 meters on an area target, such as a T-72 tank. It has been in use, in various configurations, since it first saw action against the AK-47 in Vietnam. Although the system itself is the same as its predecessors, the packaging is much different and allows for more flexibility in various tactical arenas from the mountains of Tora Bora to the streets of Khandahar. It is outfitted with various rail systems, such as the ARMS SIR system which have replaced the hand guards. These rails allow the interface of a myriad of tools available

Photos: Special Operations Equipment

to the operator from 40mm grenade launchers to SureFire lights and lasers to shotguns. These weapons are also equipped with optics such as the Leupold, C-More, and Aimpoint scopes, which have an illuminated reticle pattern that allows the enemy to be engaged in low-light conflicts more effectively.

Although the M4 has a greater range than that of the terrorists, it has a couple of drawbacks, which are beginning to cause quite a commotion within the community. The weapon system itself is fine for its intended purpose. However, the weapons system is finicky compared to that of its Kalashnikov counterpart. Marines at Camp Rhino, Afghanistan, are reporting having to clean their rifles three times a day in order to keep out all of the dust, dirt, and debris.

Another drawback is that the 5.56mm round isn't stopping the enemy as effectively as hoped. The returning U.S. operators are reporting that while the body counts are high, they are having to shoot the al-Qa'ida and Taliban terrorists up to four and five times in order to kill the enemy. Now, while the M4 and M16 weapon systems are not meant to be a one-shot, one-kill weapons, having to engage the target four and five times in order to kill them is ludicrous. Neither of these two points is late-breaking news. However, they are being looked at again by the U.S. military. It could be that we have forgotten, being that we have not been involved in a major war or conflict in quite some time, or it could be that the .223 round needs to be re-evaluated. Whatever the case, it is very clear that we are sending many more of them to meet God via the .223 than we thought we would. Praise be to Allah.

The old argument of more stopping power versus carrying more ammunition has been resurrected once again, and we will more than likely begin to see debates over which caliber and weapon system we should be carrying in the near future. I personally like, and carry, the M4. My philosophy on which weapon and caliber to carry and employ (other than in the spectrum of precision rifles) is that if he doesn't go down after the first one, hit him again until he stays down. The Special Forces operators are authorized to utilize whatever weapon system they like, within reason. Many of them have been carrying weapons systems chambered with a round that offers more punch to the target than the .223 does. However, the M4 chambered in .223 seems to still be the preferred weapons system carried in Afghanistan.

Whether these reports of high kills are accurate or inflated, only time will tell. However, we must not lose sight and focus on the issue of complacency. Just because the Taliban and al-Qa'ida terrorists are easy to kill does not mean that all terrorists are. In fact, most of the terrorists of the world are highly trained individuals who believe to their core in their cause, whether it be religious, idealistic or martyrdom. They, unlike most Americans, are willing to die for their belief, which gives them the upper hand, if we let them have it. We have enemies all over the world who would like nothing better than to see the United States and our ways of life destroyed. We must keep to our resolve, and have patience. The hunt for the terrorists of the world has just begun. If we forget the atrocity and images that occurred in Washington and New York on 11 September, and resort back to our natural complacent selves, we will be hit again and again. The terrorist is an expert in guerrilla warfare in its purest sense. As we have learned from conflicts since the beginning of time, to fight a guerrilla you have to become a guerrilla. While we hope that the body count is as high as initially reported, we seriously doubt it.

Not since the Second World War have snipers and designated marksmen claimed such high confirmed-kill rates. History tells us that the reason for such high kill rates during the European campaign was due to the sheer numbers of enemy on the battlefield whether it be Stalingrad or the open plains of Poland. Vast improvements in weapon technology have taken place across the board, and the sniper rifle is no exception.

Once we have left Afghanistan behind, and the government declassifies sensitive information such as kill rates, we will know the real truth. You be the judge. We just wanted to let you know what the walls are telling us.

The author is an expert on counter-terrorism and guerrilla warfare. When not writing for Soldier Of Fortune *he is training and working with the military and law enforcement.*

WARRIORS OF THE URBAN SPRAWL

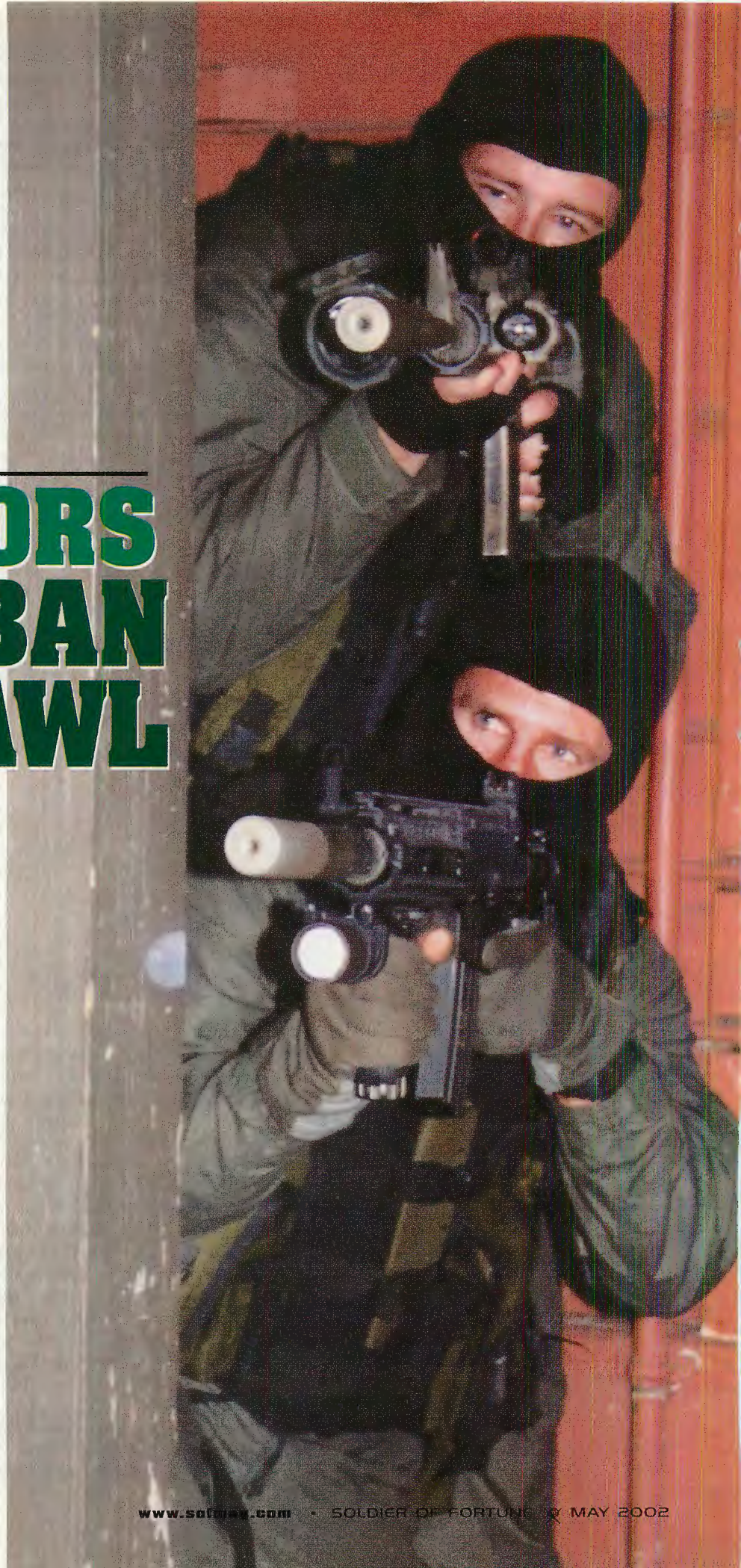
CQB And MOUT Explained

BY ODIN CROWE

Images courtesy Author and Special Operations Equipment

Since the inception of man's existence upon this planet, we have warred upon each other — starting in villages and progressing to modern-day cities. Generals and military leaders have always viewed cities and other urban areas as centers of gravity. Cities are traditionally where friction is caused, movements begin, and political radical ideas are born. By 2025, 85% of the world's population will live in cities and other urban areas. The militaries' view of urban areas has already begun a shift in focus and priority. Place names such as Stalingrad, Arnhem, Hue, Mogadishu and Beirut bring images of urban warfare on a mass scale to mind. But, only in the last 100 years, a new foe has arisen out of the crumbling wall of the cold war, guerrilla fighters in the purest sense of the word: Terrorists. They hide in villages camouflaged among the masses waiting to strike fear in us in order to gain a political goal or agenda. One has to only turn on the television to *CNN, MSNBC, BBC* or the evening news to see images of urban fighting against terrorists and those who harbor them in Afghanistan.

Currently, the battlefield is in the mountains and caves of the Tora Bora region of eastern Afghanistan. Will CQB or MOUT tactics work in these caves? How do we fight this new type of



enemy? We are throwing all of our intelligence-gathering and military resources to combat the "global war on terrorism." Is our military up to it? Can we improvise, adapt and overcome to a new battlefield, or are we going to be stubborn and unwilling to change our doctrines and standard operating procedures?

Once the target has been identified by intelligence and isolated in an urban or built-up area there are three options for combating the enemy. Military Operations in Urban Terrain, or MOUT, is done by company, battalion, or larger size infantry line units utilizing supporting arms such as helicopters, artillery, engineers, tanks, close-air support and if the city is close enough to the coast, naval gun fire. The tactics and principals for this type of warfare have been gleaned from hundreds of battles within the urban sprawl from our past. Lessons learned from the Germans in their *blitzkrieg* across Europe are just as applicable as are the tactics that were seared into our brains by the Marines and soldiers at Hue and Mogadishu.

The second methodology is Close-Quarters Battle or CQB. This is a more surgical approach to the problem, and these tactics are usually used when innocents, non-combatants and "no-shoot" targets are in the area of operations along with the known threats. These threats could be terrorists, some other form of political adversary or even street scum. Advanced CQB tactics are usually reserved for highly trained SWAT and counterterrorist teams who pay their bills by specializing in this type of warfare.

The third type of urban warfare is a melding of the former two. The basic tactics of CQB are combined with the supporting arms of the military to create "Enhanced MOUT." Since the U.S. military has taken on the role of the world's police force, the need for new tactics, doctrines, and rules of engagement have become eminent. In order to complicate matters, the enemy is interspersed with the general populace further enhancing the need for target identification. Any bad shoot on a non-combatant that erupts between the military and general populace in these regions will create an international incident, in which the United States and her military are condemned by the rest of the world.

Saving Private Ryan and *Band of Brothers*, both brought to us by Steven Spielberg, illustrate MOUT warfare in a format that is easy to comprehend visually. The tactics used by infantry units in the built-up areas of Europe haven't changed all that much over the course of the last 60 years in principle, although the tactics have improved drastically. The U.S. military has adopted basic tactics of CQB from law enforcement agencies, as well as from the special operations community, such as rudimentary room-clearing and communication techniques. To this has been added combined arms support. The U.S. Army and Marine Corps have, in the last decade, been devoting more time, money, and various other resources in order to speed up the learning curve within urban combat. They have begun to look outside of the box, that is to say, outside of their organizations, in order to glean what other militaries, law enforcement agencies and professional tactical instructors are teaching. The Marine Corps has started a MOUT think tank on the East Coast for this purpose specifically. The Army and Marine Corps have numerous MOUT facilities located on bases all over the country in which very few days go by that units are not training in urban warfare.

The premier, belonging to the Army, is located at Fort Benning, in which adjacent to the mock town is a command bunker as well as a drop zone for airborne-qualified units. From the bunker, commanders have the ability to observe the attack, see who shot who and from where, in a 360-degree sphere of animation as well as live-action IR cameras which do not interfere with the individual's NVGs because the cameras operate in a different spectrum than the goggles. At the end of an attack, the unit can assemble in a classroom and go over lessons learned while the battle is being played back on large screens situated strategically around the room. Individual firefights can be assessed as to what went right, as well as wrong, just as easily as the entire assault to include the insertion via parachute.

When the military is utilizing MOUT tactics and principals, there is little consideration for no-shoot targets compared to a SWAT team entry of a meth lab, in which only a few of the individuals within the structure are deemed as possible shoot targets. That is not to say that the military enters the city as Genghis Khan may have, but that military intelligence has deemed the area as hostile, and that the majori-

USMC 10 Commandments Of MOUT

1. Thou shall not stack.
2. Thou shall avoid danger areas.
3. Thou shall use bounding and overwatch.
4. Thou shall use suppressive fire when maneuvering.
5. Thou shall not "glide and slide" while in the open.
6. Thou shall use "guns and eyeballs."
7. Thou shall mark what thou hast cleared.
8. Thou shall communicate.
9. Thou shall have multiple simultaneous breaches.
10. Thou shall have 360-spherical security.

Guns 'n' Eyeballs! In a CQB environment one needs to react correctly — without thinking. Trusting your partner and his abilities is paramount.

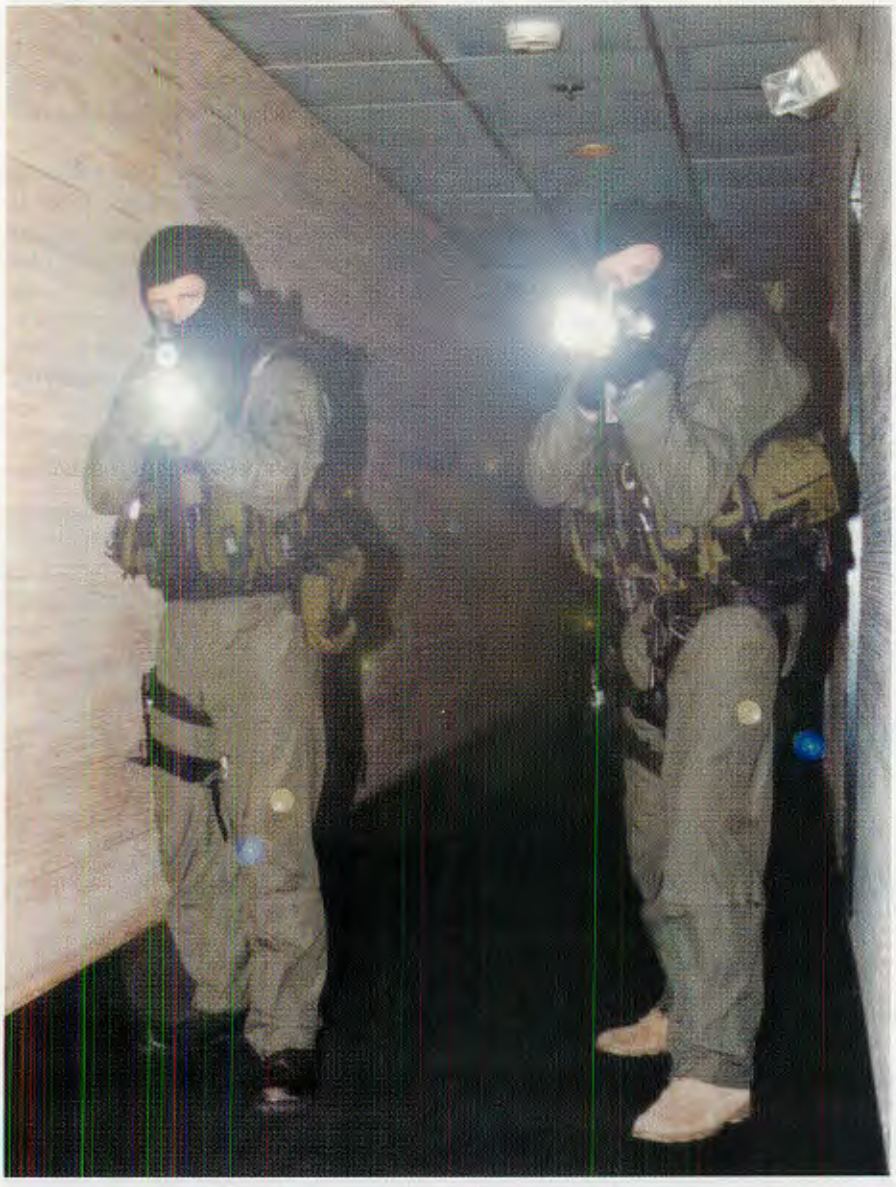
ty of the individuals are to be considered enemy. When at all possible, the units attempt to clear-out innocent bystanders as well as care for enemy wounded.

The commander of the U.S. forces has decided that for strategic reasons the city must be secured, and cannot be by-passed. Usually a ground assault is preempted by airstrikes, as well as artillery in order to soften up any hard targets in the city. Infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, phone lines, and supply routes are destroyed unless they serve a tactical advantage to the U.S. military. The general idea is that when the ground troops are sent in, the city has already been isolated and softened as much as possible.

The "spray and pray" mentality of the past is not as prevalent today, yet can still be seen in the modern battlefield. The military has spent more time on individual marksmanship, target identification, as well as small-unit leadership.

Fragmentation grenades are in high demand due to their ability to kill most of the enemy lurking in a room or hallway before entry. Special attention to the structure of the walls must be noted or the individuals throwing the grenades might be blown up by their own explosives. In places such as Haiti and Afghanistan, the construction materials used when erecting buildings may not be able to withstand the blast of a grenade causing secondary fragmentation, and the killing of U.S. forces.

The teams move in elements no fewer than two and up to squad- and even platoon-size. Although, once the structure has been breached, the squad usually breaks into fire-team size. Control by the platoon commander and platoon sergeant is often lost due to the fog of war and friction of combat. Small-unit leadership is paramount in any spectrum of warfare, but even more so within a building or city where individual firefights are occurring in a 360-degree sphere. The units clearing out buildings have been briefed in a mission order prior to the assault, tasking each squad and fire team within the platoon with responsibilities. The squads are usually assigned as assault, security, and support respectively. The assault element is responsible for the initial breach, usually by SMAW, AT-4, TOW (if available) demolitions or simply grenade, as well as the securing of a foothold within a structure. The security element provides cover for the assault element moving up to or between the structures. Support acts as a reserve element, plugging any holes as needed as well as clearing rooms or covering any areas that the assault element can not. All of the members of the platoon are trained in the individual responsibilities of each element. Throughout the attack the roles may change up, depending on actions on the objective.



Holding a hallway while sliding forward.

Phase lines have been predetermined usually by streets or dominant terrain features so as to reduce the amount of friendly fire and biting off more than the unit can handle at any given time. Streets are renamed prior to the assault in the event that the locals have taken down the signs, or even changed them around in order to confuse the attacking forces. If an element or unit experiences problems, they can call in the support of artillery or mortars, which have on call pre registered targets in order to reduce the amount of time that a unit is caught in an unhealthy situation. Tanks and close-air support may be available as well as snipers and engineers depending on the size of the attacking force.

Demolitions are utilized more in urban combat than any other operations elsewhere. They are used in preparing breach points, mouse holes, as well as for the destruction of buildings, bridges, and other structures. Mouse holes provide the most secure means of traveling from one level of a building to another. The enemy cannot booby-trap an entry point that did not exist.

CQB

September 5, 1972: Black September, a Palestinian terrorist organization breaks into the Olympic village in Munich, Germany and steals into the Israeli athletes' dormitory. They kill two of the athletes and take the other

nine hostage. After negotiations break down, the group was promised safe passage to Furstenfeldbruck Airport and from there on an airliner to Egypt.

German police snipers, underestimating the number of terrorists involved, opened fire when they were all moving from the vans to a helicopter. A massive firefight broke out and ended when one of the terrorists threw a grenade into the helicopter killing all of the Israeli athletes, five terrorists, and one policeman. Thus, nations of the world recognized the need for full-time counter-terrorist teams so that a tragedy of this scale could be avoided in the future.

May 1980: A group of Arab Iranian terrorists, hired by Saddam Hussein, succeeded in seizing control of the Iranian embassy in London along with 22 hostages. They demanded autonomy for "Arabistan." After negotiations broke down, the British SAS was sent in to deal with the situation, which happened to be broadcast on live television. The SAS fast-roped out of helicopters, rappelled down the sides of the embassy, gained entry and saved all but two of the hostages, who had already been killed before the rescue attempt. Seven out of the eight terrorists were killed.

Note the unorthodox firing position: extremely stable and the operator can move at a moment's notice.

Because of incidents such as these around the globe, military and police agencies were forced to develop and train a new type of team. SWAT, hostage-rescue, and counterterrorist teams began to emerge all over the world. With these new missions evolved new tactics and principals. Thus was born CQB.

As opposed to MOUT-type warfare, CQB takes into account for hostages and innocent no-shoot targets during a situation. When a team is sent into a hostage-rescue situation, mistakes get innocent people killed. The standards of training, both physical and mental, are much higher than those of the regular military and police. The teams train all the time constantly pushing themselves and raising the bar for minimum standards. Shooting, climbing and rappelling, martial arts, sniping, and tactics are just a few of the subjects studied on a daily basis. The teams train for worst-case scenarios such as hijacked planes, embassy takeovers, and the neutralizing of terrorist training camps. Their margin for error is minute.

The teams utilizing CQB tactics must be like an oiled machine, thinking and acting as one. Live-fire structures called "shoot houses," or "kill houses," are a staple of their training, in which the teams gain entry and must target identify threats before shooting. In the last decade teams have started training in force on force. That is to say, that the team fights Op-for (opposing forces) utilizing simunitions or paint projectiles. This simulation is as close to live combat as possible without anyone getting killed or seriously injured. When hit by the projectile a searing pain emanates from the point of impact, letting the operator know that he just dropped the ball and got shot. The operator can evaluate what he did wrong to get shot, whether it be missing his target, not seeing his target, or another variable.

Using this type of training escalates the learning curve and exposes the team to many "gunfights," so that when they engage in actual combat, they are more prepared.

These special operations teams use specialized gear as well. The Heckler and Koch MP-5 and the Colt and other various manufactures M4 have become the staple weapons of choice for the entry teams. These teams have snipers attached who employ everything from the Remington 700 and HK PSG-1 to the Barrett and Robar .50 caliber rifles, depending on mission.

Level-3 and -4 body armor, ballistic helmets, balaclavas, bone microphones, load bearing vests, thigh rigs with custom .45s, and other top-drawer semi-automatic pistols are the norm as opposed to the exception. Scopes, night vision, high-intensity flashlights, suppressors and flash-bangs round out the gear list. The operators have different ways of getting to the party as well. Whether it be via rappelling onto the roof from a Black Hawk helicopter, HALO jumping from 30,000 feet or locking out of a submarine using rebreathers and swimming into the shore undetected, all require a certain type of highly trained individual.

There are many ways to skin a cat and tactics are like religion. There are as many ways to clear a building in CQB as there are tools in your garage. Some teams use the slow and deliberate approach, which is systematically clearing areas of the building and encroaching upon the suspect or terrorist. Others teams prefer the dynamic-entry. This involves sending out advanced

Continued on page 80

THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

Will U.S. Soldiers Face Legal Landmines Overseas?

Part II

BY DR. MARTIN BRASS

IN the April issue of *SOF*, the question was raised as to how the pending International Criminal Court (ICC) would impact U.S. peacekeepers and military personnel. The events of 9-11 launched a stream of ratifications of the ICC treaty, changing the prospects of a functioning ICC from a remote ideal to an imminent reality.

If Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda operatives are apprehended outside of U.S. jurisdiction, U.S. allies, including most of Europe who are members of the Council of Europe, would not extradite suspects to the United States, due to the current U.S. policy of possible military tribunals and the death penalty. No permanent international court exists that could provide a solution to this dilemma by offering a forum which would keep the suspects in custody, prosecute or arrange for jails in which sentences would be implemented.

This void triggered the ratification of the ICC treaty since 9-11 by nearly 20 countries, including the U.K. which deposited its ratification on 4 October, the third country to do so in three days. On 5 February 2002, Portugal and Ecuador deposited their ratifications at the UN, narrowing to eight the number of ratifications (60) needed for the treaty to take effect.

Coalition for the ICC's Coordinator William R. Pace said: "The importance of the ratification by the United Kingdom cannot be over-emphasized. This great nation's decision ensures that the ICC will come into existence in 2002. The U.K. recognizes the ICC will be a powerful international legal tool in the fight against global terrorism."

Because of the defining role the first 60 countries that become parties to the Court will play in shaping the future of the Court, Pace estimated that the remaining ratifications necessary for the ICC to enter into force would be forthcoming within weeks.

In reflecting on the fact that the United States has consistently rejected the Court, British Ambassador Greenstock said, "The U.S. is one of the U.K.'s strongest allies, and the U.K. hopes the U.S. will continue working with us in creating a permanent ICC. It is important to have the U.S. in the ICC process and I hope the U.S. will ratify the ICC Statute as soon as possible."

The Hague Invasion Act

The objection by many U.S. policy makers has been vehement. The American Service Members' Protection Act (ASPA), an anti-ICC legislation dubbed "the Hague Invasion Act," submitted to the congress by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), threatened to cut off military aid to countries that ratify the ICC treaty and prohibit U.S. cooperation even in a case of international terrorism. In December 2001, the House and Senate dropped the controversial anti-International Criminal Court amendment to the Defense Department's appropriations bill for fiscal year 2002. The Helms provision would have barred cooperation with the Court by any local, state or federal entity unless the United States ratifies the Rome Treaty. It also would have authorized the President to use force to free U.S. and allied officials and service members if they were detained for, or on behalf of, the Court. What remained of the amendment was one weak, largely symbolic provision which did place a prohibition of the use of FY2002 DoD funds to cooperate with the Court.

Pace threw the U.K. ratification in the Americans' face: "The U.K. ratification could not be a more timely or clear refutation of U.S.A. Congressional extremists' efforts to pass ASPA, at the same time the U.S.A. is trying to build a global coalition against terrorism."

Three times previously, the United States acted through

the UN Security Council to establish ad hoc international criminal tribunals: Nuremberg, The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

After WWII, the U.S. largely wrote the Nuremberg statute, which became precedent for the 1990s' Yugoslav and Rwanda tribunals and was instrumental in assuring the issuance of indictments, in choosing judges and prosecutors, and maintained the jurisdiction in all three tribunals to immunize U.S. and its allies' military and political leaders through its veto in the U.N.

Slobodan Milosovic, the former president of Serbia currently being tried in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, thanks to the U.S. pressuring the current Yugoslav government into allowing his apprehension by NATO, is giving a preview of what could happen in a court in which the U.S. would not have control. Acting in his own self-defense, Milosovic is requesting that subpoenas be issued for Bill Clinton, Madeleine Albright and other U.S. political and military personnel to appear as witnesses. His theatrics are based in part on the action brought by Yugoslavia against the U.S. and the NATO allies in the International Court of Justice for the Kosovo offensive, claiming violations of the Genocide Convention, the Geneva Conventions, Principles of Sovereignty and various other Conventions.

Indeed, after the NATO action in Kosovo, complaints were filed with the Prosecutor of the ICC for the Former Yugoslavia, Carla del Ponte, naming individual defendants Bill Clinton and Madeleine Albright, among others. Claims were made that the NATO offensive was an act of aggression that violated the Genocide Convention, the Geneva Conventions, involved Crimes against Humanity and War Crimes, included shelling civilian refugee trains and enclaves, schools, hospitals, media centers which housed civilians, among a multitude of other charges. The prosecutor Carla del Ponte determined that there was not enough evidence of violation of the Geneva Conventions, the Genocide Convention, etc. to issue indictments against the U.S. individuals. It is common knowledge that the Court had been promoted by the United States and that the United States through the Security Council could exert control or pressure in the event that a U.S. citizen was indicted. The United States was accused of exerting clout on the "impartial" prosecutor del Ponte.

Standing For NGOs And Nobodies

The ICC will be a completely different ball game, however. Although Bill Clinton signed the treaty in December 2000, the United States, which refuses to ratify the statute, will be left out in the cold while 60 other countries nominate the Court's judges and prosecutor and make decisions regarding the budget and administrative procedures. The United States cannot exercise a veto in the UN Security Council, and in essence has lost control over the entire process. The bellicose threats by Helms and other opponents of the Court appeared to have mobilized the international supporters who campaigned for the court, and served to accelerate the process.

The potential implications of this universal court with jurisdiction over the U.S. military and peacekeepers are uncertain, but the possible negative repercussions have evoked violent reactions.

Senator Helms calls for withdrawal of U.S. troops from any country that ratifies the ICC Treaty, that the U.S. veto any attempt by the UN Security Council to refer a matter to the Court's jurisdiction, that it block any international organization in which it is a member from providing any funding to the ICC and that it renegotiate its Status of Forces Agreements and Extradition Treaties to prohibit its treaty partners from surrendering U.S. nationals to the ICC. He demands that the United States provide none of its soldiers to any regional or international peacekeeping operation where there is any possibility that they will come

under the jurisdiction of the ICC.

Lee A. Casey and David B. Rivkin, Jr., of the Heritage Foundation, make similar demands. "Tens of thousands of American service men and women are stationed overseas, principally in Western Europe, but also in the Persian Gulf and Asia ... It should be made clear to these states that part of the price they must pay for such protection ... [is] the guarantee that they will not subject U.S. nationals to the ICC jurisdiction. New provisions must be inserted into the Status of Forces agreements forbidding the host state from surrendering U.S. nationals to the ICC."

Gary Dempsey, of the Cato Policy Institute, dismissing any similarities of the ICC with any of the UN-established Nuremberg said that, "the ICC threatens to diminish national sovereignty, interfere with peacekeeping operations, produce selective politicized justice and grow into a jurisdictional leviathan."

Ex Post Facto Jurisdiction?

William F. Jasper, who attended the 1998 Rome negotiations that resulted in a final draft of the ICC statute, pointed out that the "Society for Threatened Peoples," one Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) among many, charged the United States with past "war crimes." The United States, the NGO spokesman claimed, "Dropped 15 million tons of bombs in the Vietnam War, conducted air raids on Cambodia, supported Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, [and] backed rightwing death squads in Guatemala in the early eighties." Not to mention other accusations of supporting murderous tyrants such as Pol Pot of Cambodia, Marcos of the Philippines, the Shah of Iran, Noriega of Panama, and the thugs of the KLA.

Quite clearly, Jasper claims, the ICC Statute represents not an embrace by "the world as a whole" of our "high standards of justice" but an attempt to impose on the world — and the U.S. — a global mechanism for judicial tyranny.

Would a U.S. offensive in Iraq unleash a volcano of pent-up international anger against the remaining superpower? Bush's preparation for military action against Iraq, one of the three members of the "evil axis," is alienating allies and eroding support for the global coalition against terrorism.

The objections to such military action reflect how a functioning ICC would become involved if said action against Iraq materializes. The ICC subject matter includes genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and aggression. The definition of aggression includes bombardment and invasion of the territory of a state if those actions are not justified as self-defense. Opponents of the operations against Iraq, which include China, Russia, most of the Middle East, and most of Europe, are objecting to the fact that such an action is not justified as immediate, as proportional or as a last resort. In short, such an action could be characterized as an unjustified war of aggression.

In the 1979 Nicaragua case, in which Nicaragua filed an application against the United States in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) claiming that the U.S. mining of its harbors and supporting the Contras was an act of aggression, the Court set the precedent for the determination of a justifiable self-defensive action. The Court held that unless there was a victim state that had been aggressed against that was requesting help, or unless there was a previous act of aggression against a responding state and unless the need for military response was immediate and last resort, a military action would be considered an aggression and not justified as a self-defensive action under the just war doctrine.

One Man's Threat = Another Man's Excuse

In the estimation of many U.S. and international jurists and pundits, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that Iraq has engaged in any act of aggression related to 9-11 that would justify a U.S. defensive action. Certainly, the belief is that a U.S. military action would not be in response to an immediate threat, nor would it be launched as a last resort, nor, judging by previous U.S. actions, would it be proportional to the perceived threat.

The ICC differs from the International Court of Justice in that the defendants in the ICJ are states and the defendants in the ICC would be individuals. The application of the law would be the same, however.

Russian President Putin warned that a unilateral action involving 200,000 U.S. troops and air attacks from Turkey, Bahrain and Diego Garcia is not advisable. Turkey, although a NATO ally, which is under enormous pressure by the European Union to correct its human rights record concerning the Kurds, would be put in an awkward, if not impossible, position as a U.S. ally, if the other NATO allies refuse to engage in a military action against Iraq.

The continual U.S. bombing of Iraq since 1991 has lost its luster, after 11 years of harsh sanctions that have devastated the civilian population and are considered to be responsible for the death or ill-health of more than a million Iraqi civilians. The international coalition supporting the sanctions has virtually dissolved and the prospect of a potential humanitarian catastrophe that will further defeat a demoralized and abandoned Iraqi citizenry, will further isolate the United States.

The United States warns that if Saddam Hussein impedes the work of UN inspectors searching for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, it has the legal right to bombard Baghdad pursuant to existing UN Security Council Resolutions, or in the alternative, in self-defense for the role that Saddam played in 9-11. Russia, China and France and the U.K., permanent members disagree, asserting that a U.S. attack would be a violation of international law, and by extension, the statute of the ICC that forbids aggression and crimes against peace. The 1991 military action against Iraq was endorsed by the UN Security members and the majority of the world. The military action in Kosovo was more reluctantly endorsed by the Security Council, with that support weakening when the shelling lasted much longer than predicted. The offensive against Afghanistan had broad support, but any action in Iraq will be met with great opposition.

Would An ICC Preclude Unilateral Action?

If the ICC were in place, a decision to bomb or invade Iraq would subject Bush Administration officials, and all U.S. military personnel who participate in the planning and execution of the military operation, to the jurisdiction of the ICC.

Iraq, an NGO such as the Red Cross or Human Rights Watch, or any state party to the ICC, might bring a complaint to the prosecutor. The action itself could be considered an act of aggression and the resulting civilian casualties might be considered war crimes or crimes against humanity. A claim of genocide is not unrealistic in this case, considering the ongoing U.S. policy that has allegedly resulted in the deaths of so many innocent Iraqi civilians. If the ICC determined that sufficient evidence existed to hand up an indictment for violation of the laws of war, the United States would either have to conduct its own trial and investigation, or would be legally bound to extradite named suspects to the ICC. The likeli-

hood of the U.S. conducting such an "effective" investigation or trial against Bush, Powell, or military advisors is nil. The likelihood of the U.S. conducting "effective" trials for actions committed on the ground in Iraq is just as unlikely.

As Lee A. Casey and David B. Rivkin, Jr., of the Heritage Foundation point out, the claims of ICC supporters that the court is not directed at U.S. citizens and that the court would be required to defer to U.S. judicial processes are disingenuous. The court, they claim, would be the absolute judge of its own jurisdiction.

If the ICC prosecutor, over whom the United States would have no control, determines that U.S. efforts to investigate or bring to trial those indicted were ineffective, he or she could issue international warrants. Those states that are parties to the ICC statute would be legally bound to arrest and extradite a U.S. citizen found in its state that has been named in a warrant to The Hague. Sovereign immunity does not apply, whether the actor be the president of the United States or an enlisted military person. The United States, however, as a non-party, would not be obligated to extradite indicted persons to the ICC or to provide evidence.

Beware International Control Freaks

"He who punishes the criminal ... is the real master of society."
— Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America*

Previously, if a military action by the United States met international objections, the only alternative adversarial states had was to bring an action in the International Court of Justice and name the United States as the respondent. With no enforcement mechanisms, the Court would slap the United States on the hand if it subjected itself to the court's jurisdiction as it did in the Nicaragua case, or it would have to dismiss the case since as when the United States opted out of the compulsive jurisdiction of the court after the Nicaragua case.

The ICC will change all of that. The named defendants now will be individuals. Those individuals, if somehow apprehended and brought before the Court, cannot object to the court's jurisdictions. International courts as well as the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals in the 1995 *Kadic v. Karadzic* case have held that individuals can be named as defendants in International criminal cases since Nuremberg, if the charges are genocide, crimes against humanity, or war crimes.

Take the Nicaragua case. Not only would a claim have been made in the World Court against the United States, but the individual operators might have been indicted for the deaths of civilians and other actions of which U.S. citizens have been accused in the Contra affair.

The ICC, it is argued, would have jurisdiction only over "serious" war crimes that represent a "policy or play" — that random acts of U.S. personnel would not be subject to the Court's jurisdiction.

But the record of the previous ad hoc international criminal tribunals proves otherwise.

Reports of attacks by U.S. military personnel on civilians have been made in the Kosovo military action and subsequent peacekeeping missions, in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in numerous other peacekeeping missions in which the U.S. is involved.

Loose Definitions Lead To Loose Justice

Fears are expressed that ICC "jurists" might determine if a Marine sniper or an Army patrol carrying out an ambush of an enemy force is guilty of "killing treacherously," or other broad language that is included in the definitions of crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Concerns have been voiced that the wide jurisdiction of the Court, unchecked by the lack of institutionalized checks and balances, could be used by hostile governments for politically motivated purpose.

Casey and Rivkin, Jr. argue that the ICC will be an independent international body that "will combine in one institution the functions of fact-finding, prosecution, judgment, sentencing, appeal and pardon."

The right to put Americans on trial for offenses that they have committed, whether planning in the United States, or on the ground, by an institution that is not a court of the United States, Casey and Rivkin assert, is unconstitutional. The Constitution, according to Justice Joseph Story, was "to secure the party accused from being dragged to a trial in some distant state, away from his friends, and witnesses, and neighborhood; and thus subjected to the verdict of mere strangers, who may feel no common sympathy, or who may even cherish animosities, or prejudices against him."

What might a U.S. soldier who is charged with war crimes in Iraq expect?

Justice Delayed = Justice Denied

"First and foremost, they [Americans] would face a civil law "inquisitorial" system where guilt would be determined by judges [possibly from countries hostile to the United States] alone. There would be no trial by jury ... no rights to reasonable bail or a speedy trial ... to confront witnesses against him and to challenge their evidence." Apparently a prosecutor for the Yugoslavia tribunal argued that up to five years would not be too long to wait in prison for trial. In addition, the ICC prosecutor would be able to appeal a verdict of acquittal in the U.S., effectively placing the accused in "double jeopardy."

Dempsey of the Cato Institute also strongly objects to the Court on constitutional grounds. In other instances outside of the United States, he said, the Constitution applies for U.S. citizens in Courts martial, on base, or in other trials within the control of U.S. troops.

Dempsey concludes that the Nuremberg model is not applicable. At Nuremberg, he points out, where Hitler's company went on trial in the first international criminal court established by the allies in the UN Security Council, trials followed unconditional military and political surrender of the Axis powers and evidence was readily available. Prospective defendants were already in custody and extensive documentary and physical evidence was readily available. The defeated peoples endorsed the legitimacy of the war crimes process. Nazi archives were open to the defense as well as to the prosecution.

He cites numerous cases from the U.S. Supreme Court decisions spanning more than a century. In 1890 in *De Geofroy v Riggs* the Court held that the constitutional rights of Americans cannot be abridged by the federal government's power to conclude treaties.

In *re Yamashita,* the Court decided after WWII that in any conflict between U.S. law and the laws of war the U.S. law must prevail "We do not make the laws of war but we respect them so far as they do not conflict with the commands of Congress or the Constitution."

More recently, in 1988, in the *Boos v Barry* case, the court held "Rules of international law and provisions of interna-

Continued on page 66

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ADVERTISERS INDEX

Continued from page 59

tional agreements of the U.S. are subject to the Bill of Rights and other prohibitions, restrictions or requirements of the Constitution and cannot be given effect in violation of them."

In the Yugoslav criminal court, if that court can serve as an example, both anonymous witnesses and extensive hearsay evidence have been allowed.

According to Dempsey, Nick Kostich, a U.S. defense attorney for Tadic, tried in the Yugoslav criminal court, complained that his client was not given the right to confront his accusers and had not been presented with the names of witnesses.

"My most vicious, my most heinous client [in the United States] has more rights under the U.S. Constitution," Kostich said.

The defense attorney in the case against Dusko Tadic also said that "we were not able to produce the evidence as we wished as there was no legal instrument to compel a witness to come to The Hague. Victims were pleased to tell their story but no one who was involved with him would witness for fear that they will incriminate himself or herself." Too little money was designated for defense compared to the prosecution.

We Don't Need No Stinkin' Corpus Delecti

Dempsey, concerned with faulty evidence which may be produced as a result of the need for the ICC prosecutor to protect the privacy and identity of the victims and witnesses, points out the case of Sretko Damjanovic, who in 1993 was convicted of genocide in the murder of two Muslim brothers. Four years later, the two genocide victims, Kasim and Asim Blekic, were seen alive in a Sarajevo suburb. *The Bosnian court did not consider the fact that the victims were never murdered as grounds for granting Damjanovic a new trial.*

The American Bar Association describes constitutional objections to the ICC as a "red Herring," asserting that since the ICC will not be a "court of the U.S." that the Bill of Rights will not apply to its proceedings. Perhaps not, but if the United States is to become a party to the ICC, according to *De Geofroy v Riggs*, its joining is predicated upon the premise that such an agreement would not abrogate any individual constitutional rights.

In theory the right to a fair trial is well protected in the ICC. The ICC judges and prosecutor are subject to all international laws in place. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 demands equality before the courts, the right to receive a fair and public hearing, to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law, to be informed of the charges promptly and in detail and to prepare adequately a defense, to be tried without undue delay, to be present at trial, and to present a defense in a language of one's own choosing, the rights to examine witnesses, to have access to an interpreter, to remain silent, to an appeal, to receive compensation in the case of a miscarriage of justice and to proportional punishment. Right to a fair trial is expressed in the Convention against Torture, Convention on Human Rights and the American Convention on Human rights.

Uneven Justice Is Injustice

But the ICC, which is now considered as a panacea for deterring terrorists and for providing justice to tyrants, definitely has its problems.

Most conflicts since WWII have been internal ones, and most atrocities continue during civil war or civil disturbances.

Article 3, common to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, and Protocol II apply war crimes to conflicts of an international character. Genocide can be applied in wartime as well as peace and in internal conflicts as well as interstate conflicts. The Appeals Chambers of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia stated unequivocally in the Dusko Tadic case that these norms do not require any connection at all to international armed conflict: Crimes against humanity may not require a connection between crimes against humanity and any conflict at all.

The catch is, that although these laws have an increasingly universal application, they may not be applied to the worst offenders if those states do not become parties to the ICC, and their crimes will go unpunished if they are contained within that non-party state.

The Rwanda case, in which an estimated half-million Tutsis and their sympathizers were killed, has been used as an example of an international tribunal meting out uneven justice. In Rwanda, the state courts executed dozens, and sentenced hundreds to death or life in prison for war crimes. Jean Kambanda, prime minister during the 100 days when majority Hutus sought to exterminate the Tutsis, admitted before the Rwanda tribunal that he was guilty of committing crimes against humanity and genocide. Kambanda, who was tried in the international court, cannot be tried in Rwanda courts for the same crimes. In the Rwanda court, he would face a maximum life sentence or might get a reduced sentence — while other minor actors were executed. Thus, those who planned and incited the genocide will, if convicted, spend some years in European jails while lesser criminals will be put to death.

Binding Agreement Or Noose?

Another drawback is that the ICC prosecutor will have to trust that the States who have a suspect in their territory will be willing to cooperate and enforce ICC warrants. The Yugoslav prosecutor relied heavily upon the NATO peacekeeping forces to apprehend those under indictment, and many remain at large because they have the protection of their own heavy guard, and this risk to peacekeepers prevents further arrests.

The reality of human history has been that the larger and more universal is any institution, the less it will be influenced by any system of checks and balances. We may take pride in the fact that proposed new international institutions and systems designed to promote a more universal justice have been inspired by the successes of our Anglo-American judicial system.

But we must fear any proposed system of law that is a law unto itself.

The ICC concept may remain only a fantasy. In any case, our political leadership in Washington — sworn as it is to uphold and defend our Constitution and all its guarantees — must pay more attention to this issue than it has to date.

Although evolving and admittedly imperfect, our judicial system is tried, and it is trustworthy. To sacrifice our judicial protections, and to permit the sacrifice of our men and women who serve our nation and the cause of freedom in uniform, is risky at best — and traitorous at worst.

Dr. Martin Brass is an international attorney, and a frequent contributor to Soldier Of Fortune.

Showdown In Somalia?

Continued from page 39

What is certain is that for a while now, the U.S. has been looking about for a secure base in East Africa. Since neither Kenya nor Tanzania are prepared to face Africa's wrath and offer Washington facilities on their soil, (either Dar es Salaam or Mombasa would be ideal for the purpose) the U.S. must look elsewhere. In an unexpected NATO heads-up, Germany's *Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung* reported last November that a group of officials from America and several European nations had toured Berbera with this option in mind.

"They were negotiating with the Hargeisa authorities about establishing a presence there," the newspaper declared.

Though in ruins as a result of years of hostilities, a revitalized Berbera would give the Americans a powerful security edge in the region. It lies on the edge of the Arabian and Red Seas and Yemen's Aden is just over the horizon. Also, a U.S. presence so close to Mogadishu must ultimately affect the overall security of that embattled land.

Among other objectives a joint German/American presence in the Horn would achieve would be to intercept al-Qaida communications, as well as cut its links and supply lines from a region that for a long while has been regarded as ungovernable. Germany, meanwhile, is negotiating a basing agreement with Djibouti, which would further strengthen Western links, and a German Navy task force will be patrolling offshore by the time that you read this.

Having been modernized and enlarged during the Cold War, Berbera, for decades, was a major deep port Soviet naval staging post in the Indian Ocean. Before the pro-Soviet Siad Barre's *coup d'état,* American warships and aircraft regularly used the place. And if all this were to take place, and it looks very much like it might, then Washington would avoid the minefield of Yemeni negotiations each time it needs one of its ships to make an operational visit, as was the case with the *U.S.S. Cole.*

Yemen's loss, obviously, would be Somaliland's economic and political gain. According to the London-based Arabic daily *Al Zaman,* it could result in the quasi-independent state — under Washington's auspices — declaring itself unilaterally independent, as Singapore originally did decades ago.

Right now, with the presence of so many al-Qaida operatives still in Somalia, the U.S. has a more urgent agenda than long-term tactical considerations. Should it take precipitate military action against some, or all, of the al-Qaida terrorist bases in Somalia — which could happen within months — many of the envisioned security objectives might be achieved in a single surgical military strike.

All the surrounding nations in the region are desperately keen to be rid of the persistent insurgent threat that Somalia represents and that has festered for years. Shortly before last Christmas, Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi issued a stern warning to recalcitrant Somali factions: They should either put their house in order or he would again close the border. Trouble is, he's said that before and his words had no effect. A week later, heavy fighting between Somali erupted again leaving dozens dead.

As for the future, Britain's BBC just about said it all in one of its last dispatches of the year on Somalia.

In a broadcast titled "Somalia Pushed to the Brink of Disaster" Ishbel Matheson highlighted the plight of an African state in the grip of one of the worst droughts for decades. She underscored the political and military excesses of a political system that was unraveling for the umpteenth time.

Intra-factional rivalry coupled to the machinations of half-a-dozen Somali warlords, she suggested, was at the root of it. Some of the militants supported the country's transitional government. Others did not.

Conditions have deteriorated to the extent that just about all the UN agencies involved in the country have sounded the alarm. They warn that if a modicum of stability is not quickly achieved, up to half-a-million people in Somalia could face starvation "within months."

Curiously, it was exactly that scenario that 10 years ago prompted the UN to take joint military action to save Somalia when the UN's Operation Just Hope was launched. One cause for concern to most of Somalia's neighbors, as well as to the developed world, is a continuing trend in the kidnapping of innocents for ransom.

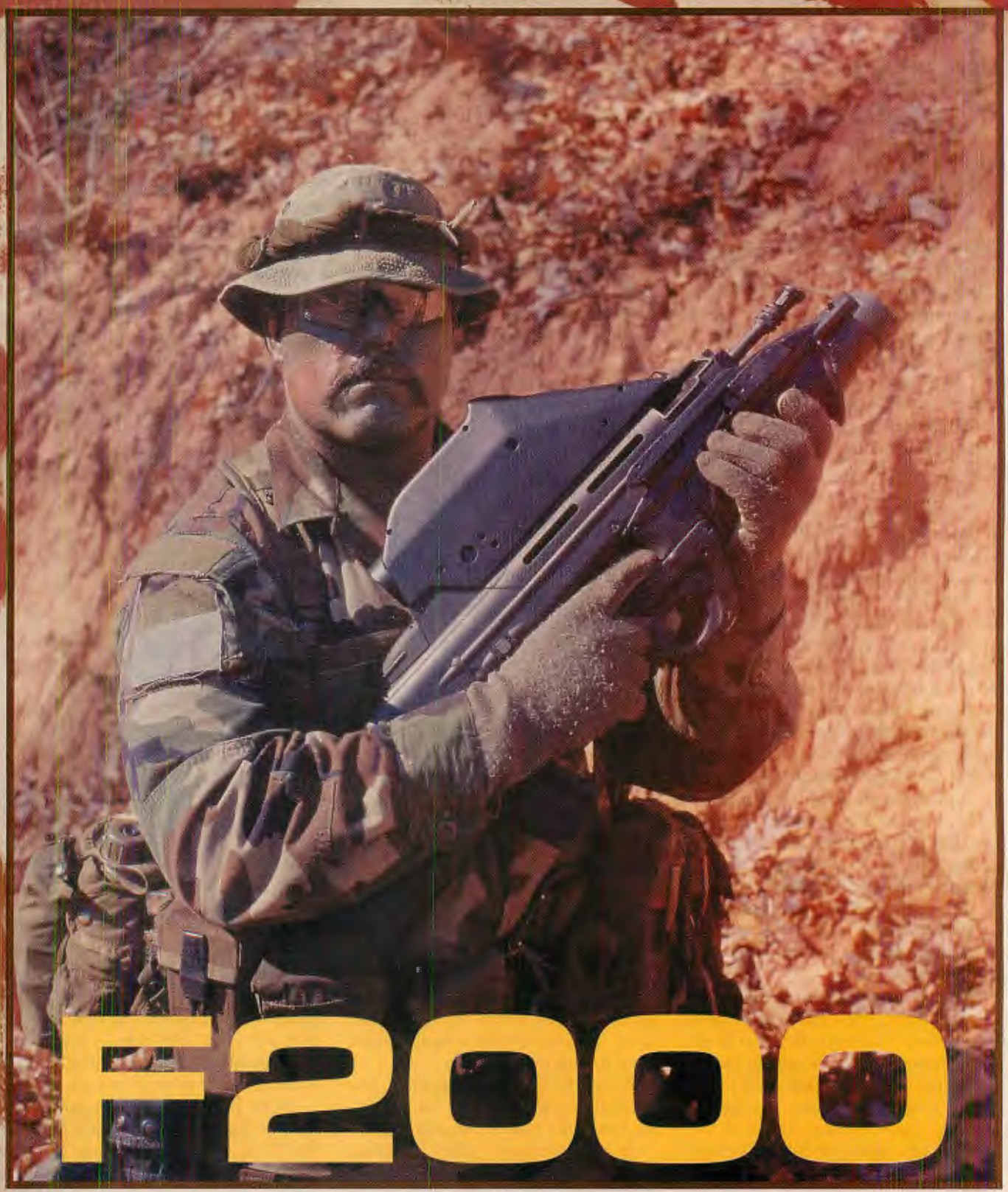
While the level of abduction is lower than it was two years ago, the kidnapping threat is serious enough to have caused all Western government to warn their nationals about visiting the country. Similarly, an international alert about piracy along the Somali coast has been in effect for some years now. At least three ocean-going craft are being held hostage in Somali ports as we go to press.

Mogadishu port, still the focus of a burgeoning illegal arms trade along east Africa's largely unpatrolled coastline.

There has also been hostage-taking that, in the past, has involved international aid workers including officials working for the ICRC, the French-based *Action Contre la Faim* and the Italian aid agency *Terra Nuova.* In recent months there has been a spate of incidents involving Somalia and Ethiopia.

Observers in Addis Ababa maintain that if this trend escalates, it could lead to war. As well it could, only this time America could be involved.

Al J. Venter is a longtime contributor to SOF *and an authority on African affairs.*



F2000

FN's Radical New Combat Bullpup

Tomorrow's Anti-Terror Weapon

Text & Photos by Robert Bruce

Cross an OICW (Objective Individual Combat Weapon, the U.S. military's long-term program to provide infantrymen of the future with "leap ahead" technology that dramatically increases their combat effectiveness) with a P90 and what do you get? Not a bar joke punch line, but a very exciting new weapon combo from FN that is getting a confidential preview among certain Special Operations and Law Enforcement types abroad and in the U.S.

A version of FN's extraordinarily handy little 5.7mm P90 Personal Defense Weapon has been beefed up and reworked by Belgian engineers to handle the ubiquitous NATO SS109 5.56mm assault rifle round. Now officially called the FN F2000 Modular Assault Weapon System, it was nicknamed "The CONVERTOR" early on, due its ability to accommodate the client's wants, needs and desires.

This radical looking new weapon is housed in a smoothly flowing polymer shroud for demonstrably efficient ergonomic design. Utilizing a Stoner-style multilug bolt moved by an AUG-inspired gas system, the new Belgian bullpup is selective fire for full and semiauto operation and its controls are fully ambidextrous.

Building Blocks

According to FN's Louis Dillais, director of their American operation and former officer in France's special forces, the F2000 was designed from the ground up as an integrated family of optional weapon- and fire-control modules.

These carefully considered and synergistically designed ("Synergy" is geek-speak for parts that work together) building blocks seem to flow seamlessly into one another. So, he says, no matter if the combination has been tailored for no-holds-barred conventional warfare assault, or gingerly dealing with domestic disturbances while CNN camera crews are breathing down your neck, the handling and operation of your weapon system is basically the same.

Even at this early date when the system exists only in a handful of prototypes, there are numerous choices for the discriminating user. It all starts with the KE (kinetic energy) Basic Weapon module, a selective-fire bullpup chambered for the nearly universal 5.56mm M855 green-tip cartridge. Then, select from a growing list of clamp-ons, including 40mm grenade launchers of the single shot or three-round variety. We are told that other calibers are in the works from 20mm on up depending on results of ongoing experimentation in the U.S.A. and other countries.

Need a shotgun? Got it. Need "Less Lethal" capability to pop malcontents with malodorants or cloud crazies with CS? You betcha. Each is similarly configured and triggered for compatibility with repetitive training that develops instinctive operation. Each clamps on quickly under the barrel to maintain the weight and balance that an operator has adjusted to in other exercises.

The F2000 is a particularly efficient packaging of bullet and bomblet with great promise for increasing the infantry soldier's battlefield effectiveness.

This handy comparison shows the relative size of FN's prototype F2000 with electronic fire control and 40mm grenade launcher vs. the U.S. military's M16A1 and M203. Both weapons feature selective-fire 5.56mm assault rifles and powerful single-shot mini-mortars, but the F2000 has the edge on compactness and first-round hit probability.

A Sight to Behold

The F2000's building block approach is further realized in provisions for various types of sighting systems. The top of the rifle component is fitted with a NATO standard MIL 1913 "Picatinny Rail" so as to sturdily affix just about anything that's clamped on any other weapon in service. However, FN's currently available options include a fairly conventional 1.6X optical sight, plus a whiz-bang electro/optical/computer/laser/and more, dubbed the Integrated Fire Control System (IFCS). Juice for powering this stuff comes from a block battery tucked neatly inside the stock.

FN has teamed with Finnish engineers at NOPTEL to produce the current IFCS and to begin working on follow-on systems of increasing sophistication and capabilities. Dillais tells us this is most certainly to incorporate the same variety of tools being developed for the American OICW such as target tracking, day/night operation, and thermal imaging. This will include, he forsees, computer interface between ranging and aiming cues with "smart" airbursting grenades.

For right now this module, looking for all the world like a shark fin, is equipped with 1.6X scope, a laser rangefinder, and digital inclinometer linked to an onboard computer.

I found this to be fun and fast on the range. After laser-zapping the target its distance is displayed in meters in the scope. If the appropriate response is 40mm HE, sim-

(above) The F2000's rotary-locking single-shot 40mm grenade launcher is loaded M203-style by sliding the barrel forward and slipping an HE round up into the chamber. (right) The gunner then reaches a finger down to the bottom trigger to fire the grenade. Contrast this to the need to completely relocate the firing hand from pistol grip to the magazine on an M16/M203 combo. Also, this is a double-action trigger that, in the event of a light primer strike, can be immediately squeezed again for another hit without the pucker-factor of having to unlock and slide forward the barrel of an M203.

ply keep the target centered left-right in the reticle and elevate the muzzle until both tiny LED's at 12 and 6 o'clock in the viewfinder turn green. Thus, we have achieved precisely correct elevation (thanks to the inclinometer) and immediately popping off the grenade should result in a hit within 2 meters.

This sure beats the old M203's "guesstimate range, sight the ladder, pop and pray" system.

Now, while some would call all this just bells and whistles to run up the price and complexity of the system, others can find ample reasons to disagree. FN's promotional materials cite actual tests at the Belgian Infantry School and project resultant increases in first-round PI (Probability of Incapacitation) in various combat scenarios. This should give significant savings not only in the cost of training and combat ammo and how much must be carried into battle, but also in saving friendly lives by quickly and efficiently eliminating those who are shooting back.

Serving Spooks Since '77

Ever vigilant for opportunities to sneak a peek at cutting-edge hardware, *SOF* wrangled an invitation to attend a recent F2000 training session put on by FN for some Special Programs Group representatives of Electronic Warfare Associates, Inc. Insiders from USSOCOM (United States Special Operations Command) and similar operations have long known EWA as a leading supplier of a wide range of products and services necessary to keep the good guys on the cutting edge.

FNH USA, Inc., the North American office for Belgium-based FN, has recently opened a field office at CRUCIBLE Training Center, near Fredericksburg, Va. This well-appointed facility offers good ranges, classrooms, storage facilities for weapons and ammunition, and is conveniently located near the D.C. metro area where lots of high-level military and law enforcement operations are headquartered.

According to Rick Bailer, EWA's Director of Special Programs, he and a trio of reps were at CRUCIBLE on this fine morning to get a basic familiarization with the F2000 including mechanical characteristics plus safe handling and shooting technique. This would enable them, he said, to credibly discuss this innovative new weapon system as part of EWA's regular interaction with its government and military clients.

Beyond the P90

FNH USA's Sal Fanelli, now Senior Manager for Business and Weapons Systems Development and a long-time product/user liaison for FN and

(left) + and – keys on the touch pad on the top of the electronic fire control module allow the operator to add or subtract distance from the lased range if necessary. (below) Mitch X. goes from waltz to rock-'n' roll with the "KE" (kinetic energy) 5.56mm assault rifle module topped with the 1.6X optical sight. Note the emergence of smoking empties from the spillway at right of the barrel.

Cases tumble out of the F2000 in several full-auto bursts. Note the absence of muzzle rise in this very well-balanced and controllable weapon. (right) A magazine of 5.56mm ball and a 40mm TP round ready for fun in the sun.

MWS and OICW

Bin laden Busters armed with United States Special Operations Command's M4 Modular Weapon System — essentially an M16 "Shorty" with all sorts of stuff hanging all over it — are especially invited to take note of the F2000.

Many of you have observed that, while reliable, effective and reasonably compact, a fully accessorized M4/M203 with thermal sight is quite awkward and unbalanced, prone to snagging on just about anything, weighs in at 20 pounds, and costs upwards of 12 grand. Folks, there's a lot of room for improvement and our guys deserve something better a lot earlier than the projected fielding of the OICW eight years from now.

Nobody at FN was so impolite or untactful as to draw a direct comparison between the F2000 and the U.S. military's enormously ambitious and expensive program to field the OICW sometime around 2010. *They* won't, but I will because I have been closely following and reporting on this for years.

Most simply put, quantity issue of the OICW is a decade or more away and F2000 is here now. F2000 isn't everything that OICW is supposed to eventually be, but it is a lot of that already. Virtually everything that will some day be part of the OICW's computerized fire control, 25mm semiauto grenade launcher, "smart ammo," or whatever, can be modularized for mating with the F2000.

While FN's spokesmen are understandably cautious when discussing cost projections — particularly in the uncharted territory of multi-function, day-night fire control — their target is to field by the end of 2002 a significantly lighter and less expensive system with superior 24 hour/all-weather operational capability and more.

It will be really interesting to see what comes of the imminent USSOCOM trials.

its various worldwide operations, kicked-off the classroom portion of the schedule with a brief explanation of the F2000's genesis. The whole thing began, he said, nearly a decade ago back in the OICW concept stage when FN, in partnership with the American firm AAI, provided the assault-rifle component of their team's entry in Army trials.

Although passed over in favor of the Alliant Techsystems/Heckler & Koch offering, it was a logical progression, Fanelli said, to continue to build upon the ergonomic and operational characteristics of FN's ground-breaking P90 PDW (Personal Defense Weapon).

While the P90's custom-designed 5.7 x 28 mm round offers several important advantages including low-recoil impulse, yet amazing body-armor penetration, many potential customers weren't about to give up standard 5.56 x 45 mm ammo. In some ways this is like the continuing debate between submachine gunners and assault rifleers. Both camps have a laundry list of pros and cons that usually boil down to constraints of domestic law enforcement vs. extreme situations in military special operations. So, why not kick the "90" up a notch or two by redesigning its mechanism to take the hotter, bigger round?

The resulting F2000 is just that; a powerful new assault rifle sleekly fitted inside a space-age-configured bullpup housing. But wait, there's more as Fanelli continued the fast-paced lecture and demonstration.

Inside Story

The head of "Task Force F2000," the system's design team in Herstal, Belgium, had a much bigger task in this

The LG1 is FN's standard single-shot 40mm grenade launcher module for the F2000. It fires the full range of U.S. and NATO low-velocity 40 x 48mm ammunition. Although similar in layout and function to the American M203, it features a rotary locking system where movement of the barrel forward for loading also turns and unlocks the barrel from the receiver.

caliber conversion than simply pumping steroids into his firm's PDW. The former weapon's intentionally light-kicking 5.7-round lent itself nicely to the simplest classic blowback operation, but this isn't feasible engineering with SS109 ammo. This considerably larger, heavier-bulleted, high-velocity round has much higher chamber pressure and recoil impulse, necessitating some sort of locking system as well as some way to harness released energy to the task of operating the system. What to do?

The late Gene Stoner would have been pleased to see yet again a variation of his AR-10/M16/AR-180 multilug bolt-in camming carrier system being put to good work. Although cursed by any grunt who has had to "white glove clean" that damnable space in the barrel extension between the locking lugs and chamber on a "Sixteen," the system itself is mechanically brilliant and incredibly strong for its weight.

Instantly, the precise range to target is displayed at the bottom of the reticle. This information is simultaneously stored in the system's computer and relayed to the onboard digital inclinometer.

Austrian engineers at Steyr should also take pride in an adaptation of the AUG's variable-input gas-piston system finding its way into the F2000. No new magic here, just gas flowing through a hole in the barrel near the muzzle that enters an expansion chamber to kick a tapered piston rearward. This, in turn, pushes the bolt carrier with a camming slot that turns the bolt to unlock as it continues rearward for extraction and ejection. We also find a number of AUG similarities in the generous use of molded polymer, not only for the receiver housing, but also in the modular hammer group.

This last component is being given a decidedly cutting-edge twist with planned availability of electronic rate of fire regulation. Although details of its electro-mechanical operation are closely held at this time, it is expected to operate by controlling the dwell time between hammer strokes through some sort of microchip and solenoid interaction. Just dial or punch in the desired burst length or speed for best results in any given situation.

In an amusing anecdote, Fanelli says that this is off-the-shelf technology for FN, having been successfully brought to demonstration prototype stage a decade ago for possible use in the M249 5.56mm Squad Automatic Weapon, the American version of FN's handy MINIMI. Cast aside and forgotten soon afterward due to lack of customer interest, he recently reminded his Belgian counterparts that there was no need to start again from square one. Assuming the long-lost electronic module has been found at Herstal, it should be merely a matter of blowing off the dust and scaling it to fit the F2000.

The designers have also reached way back to before the turn of the century (not this last one, but circa 1884) for an inverted variation on the ejection tube used by the sainted Hiram Maxim in the world's first commercially successful "automatic machine gun." On the return stroke of its bolt and carrier, the F2000 sends each empty cartridge casing up and forward into an ejection tube. Each successive round is similarly deposited until, after about four shots are fired and the tube is full, the first is rather gently pushed out of a spillway on the right front of the receiver.

This historical curiosity has the very practical effect of eliminating the danger and distraction to fellow soldiers close at hand from energetically expelled brass. No more hot casings cartwheeling against your buddy's cheek or down his BDU jacket when clearing rooms or tight cave passageways.

As guests of FNH USA at a scheduled training session, it was neither appropriate nor supportable for *SOF* to conduct a classic "gun test" on the F2000. While the early limited-run prototype gun available to us shot with observed controllability and without mechanical incident, wringing out a production line model will have to wait for a few months.

We are told that some 15 "FAP" (First Article Production) are taking form now at Herstal, incorporating numerous improvements based on comments and suggestions from men of many organizations who have had the opportunity to handle and shoot existing prototypes. This is, according to FNH USA's Mark Cherpes, the process of "Americanization," that helps European engineers understand and accommodate the sometimes quirky preferences of us Yanks.

The first batch of these new and improved F2000s is expected to go to USSOCOM for more abuse but *SOF* is already at the head of the line for press availabilities. Stay tuned.

Robert Bruce, a retired U.S. Army Senior NCO, is a well-known small-arms expert, historian and author.

F2000 Modular Assault Weapon System

SPECIFICATIONS

(Current pre-production prototype)

Manufacturer:	Fabrique Nationale, Herstal, Belgium
Caliber:	5.56 x 45 mm SS109
Operation/Locking:	Gas with multilug bolt-in carrier
Selector:	Semi- and full-auto at 800-900 rpm
Feed:	Detachable 30-round box magazine (M16/NATO STANAG)
Empty Weight:	7.95 lbs./3.6 kg.
Overall Length:	27.3 in./694 mm
Barrel Length:	15.75 in/400 mm
Sights:	1.6X optical with optional laser-ranging ballistic computer

Spying Is A Filthy Business

See No Evil ...

BY AL J. VENTER

Four things come back not: The spoken word; the sped arrow; time past and the neglected opportunity.
— Omar I Ibn al Khattab, Caliph (AD 581-644)

Espionage is a filthy, often disgusting, business. For those involved in America's clandestine services, this truism should be cast in concrete and hoisted above the main entrance to CIA Headquarters at Langley, Virginia. It is also the first message imparted by Robert Baer in his new book, which deals with his 21 years of service in the CIA.

The transcendent message of the volume, however, is that Langley has screwed up mightily. The way he reckons, it's going to take a generation or more to put things right.

As Baer told *Soldier Of Fortune*, "They're starting to repair some of the damage, but not much has changed." In some respects, comments Baer, things have gotten worse. The Company is gripped by a multitude of incompetent legacies, many of them inherited from the Clinton administration.

The author's accounting of how the CIA's Directorate of Operations (DO) has declined under the last three leaders (he describes them as a recalled retiree, an analyst and a "political pal") leads to some chilling conclusions. And he's not talking policy or methodology, but the long-term security of the American nation.

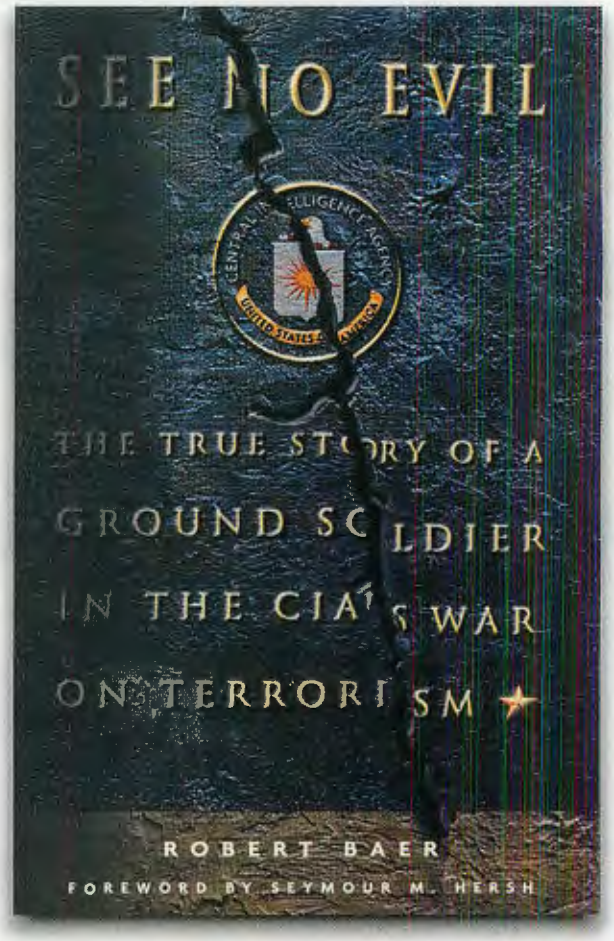
It's interesting that Seymour Hersh, in his introduction, makes the point that "we've hit intelligence rock bottom in America."

Baer explains, by way of illustration — following events of 11 September — that the CIA brought back squads of retirees to help address the situation. This was fine in theory, he states.

But they're a mixed bunch. "Some of these veterans are solid old-timers. Others are the original bunglers that caused years of abuse and neglect, the very same people that contributed to breaking the system. Included in this group was the knucklehead that mistakenly targeted the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.

"Now there's a housewife in charge as deputy head of a division directing CIA's overseas operations." Originally she was a reports officer, a clerk who did minor editing of field reports!

He speculated about that ever happening at the Pentagon. "Can't see it. Can you imagine the military bring-



See No Evil, The True Story of A Ground Soldier In The CIA's War On Terrorism, *by Robert Baer, is a blockbuster analysis and exposé of what ails America's intelligence establishment.*

ing in a nonentity — and a housewife to boot — to help run operations in Afghanistan? The U.S. military runs its shows professionally, the way we once did in the CIA," he reckons.

At the same time, he's not uncritical of certain military developments. Desert Storm gave the Americans a remarkable opportunity to recruit agents from among the tens of thousands of Iraqi POWs that were captured. "Some of these people were very senior in the Iraqi military and considering the circumstances, it should have been easy to turn a select few. Had we done that, we'd today have people in sensitive positions right under the nose of Saddam Hussein."

As things developed, says Baer, the CIA was prohibited from doing any intelligence recruiting and the man responsible for this weighty decision was none other than the highly regarded General Schwarzkopf.

"In fact he was totally opposed to it and it makes no sense whatever," he adds. Baer states that throughout his career, whether in Vietnam or in the sands of Arabia, Schwarzkopf seemed to have been opposed to CIA activities on his stretch of turf. "In much the same way he was against deploying Special Forces."

Baer's view is that in view of the long-term implications this kind of myopia is unconscionable, "and today we're paying for it."

As for George Tenet, the director of intelligence, he hardly spares the man. Even allowing for obvious lapses of concentration in critical issues, or the fact that the worst terror attacks in the history of the nation occurred on his watch, nothing justified the CIA being caught with its pants around its ankles. Quoting Navy friends, Baer is astonished that he's still at McLean: When your boat kisses the bottom, you lose your command.

"However, I also understand a little bit better the political realities of Washington. The man has the ear of the president and maybe he should stay. The last thing the CIA needs is another director who can't get into the oval office."

The sad chapter can possibly be encapsulated by an exchange that took place at an open Congressional hearing in early February between Tenet and Senator Pat Roberts: The Kansas Republican asked the head of the CIA how it was that an American Taliban by the name of John Walker Lindh could meet bin Laden, while his organization couldn't get an agent near him? Tenet wasn't specific in his answer, but he did indicate that the CIA had, in fact, moved forward in that direction.

The answers to that complex question may lie in Baer's book, titled *See No Evil* — a best-seller within weeks of its release. This volume is also a vital adjunct to just about everything happening right now out there in this big, bad world of ours.

courtesy Robert Baer/Crown Publishers

Robert Baer, getting ready for another jump at the "Farm" in 1977.

With the CIA gearing up a secret war against terrorism, this is a timely work. There is — and, indeed there should be — great interest in the clandestine culture of the place and the kinds of men and women who work there.

Briefly, Baer's brisk explication is a terse dynamic between the realities of everyday espionage and the environment in which so many of these people operate. Put another way, what he has to tell deals with what the British master spy and KGB secret agent Kim Philby once called the "great game."

Multi-lingual, Baer, a former California ski bum with a degree from Georgetown University, slotted easily into any environment in which he was placed once he had become "Company." Too easy, say some of his detractors who claim that in the field he was a risk-taker, which incidentally, Baer accepts as more of a compliment than a slight.

As a case officer in the Directorate of Operations for the Central Intelligence Agency, Baer saw service in many of the world's trouble spots, including Iraq, Khartoum, New Delhi, Rabat, Dushanbe and elsewhere. During the course of his duties he became fluent enough in Arabic to be able to operate clandestinely in Lebanon as a native Arab.

At the end of it, tired of the bureaucratic bickering (at one stage Langley's mandarins tried to implicate him in the Iran/Contra shambles) and with the CIA pulling back from aggressive covert actions to appease their political masters, in disgust he resigned from the service in December 1997.

Says Baer: "The CIA asked me to delay publication for an additional review ... their security people were going to the publisher's attorneys to try to stop publication. At one point early on in the review, Langley asked for my lawyer's hard drives. ..."

The book is severely critical of America's number one intelligence organization. In fact, the first thing that really strikes the reader is how it ever got into print. Nor is Baer afraid to name names, at least those that weren't scrubbed by the censors.

Interestingly, the book was security-vetted over a period of two years and changes were made. In fact, some of the deletions are shown as black blotches on the text. Somehow though, says Baer, "a lot of it seemed to have slipped through the cracks."

He speculates that it was due to the same old lassitude that seems to have affected the organization in other directions: "those responsible for looking at the book appeared to lose interest in the end, or maybe they agreed with me. At

one point they even started correcting some of my mistakes."

However, things began to look sharp again when the book was about to appear.

Says Baer: "The CIA asked me to delay publication for an additional review. We then had their security people going to the publisher's attorneys to try to stop publication. At one point early on in the review, Langley asked for my lawyer's hard drives. But since these were the same people who represent Dan Burton, they had a hard time of it. Finally we went ahead."

According to Baer, the security aspect is still pending, but essentially, everything that went into print was reviewed by Langley, though he did add an addendum after the World Trade Center was bombed, which the CIA saw as well, before publication.

A Worst-Case Scenario?

Bob Baer's revelations have been equated by one observer as equivalent to what some people would regard as a doomsday augury.

The CIA has massive problems, he declares, and one of the biggest, says Baer, is the suburban mentality towards intelligence that Washington seems to inculcate in people working there. "The comfortable home in Virginia syndrome," he calls it: "Many realize that they could get promoted faster and with less risk by staying in Washington."

"Collecting information, especially sensitive stuff on which history sometimes turns, quite often needs dirty hands." It's one of the fundamentals of the job, he stipulates.

"If you're into intelligence gathering you must get out there and mix and talk with the ordinary people of the society in which you've been placed: It's the only way to build up trust and confidence. To get to the point where people are willing to confide in you or react favorably when you finally confront them, takes time." Essentially, he explains, it is a sharing of experiences.

"It's not going to work by commuting between a flashy hotel and the meeting place. Choose *that* route and you're always a stranger among those whose friendship you're trying to cultivate. Get onto common ground and that's half the battle won," he says.

Robert Baer is a powerful proponent for the need for case officers to be able to speak the language. Instead, he says, Langley takes the indirect, Harvard Business School approach to management and expertise.

He reckons that America should have established its own national Arab language school a long time ago, for no better reason than that the Middle East provides more than half of America's oil needs. Like it or not, the Arab world is pivotal to our long-term strategic well-being.

"Nobody in Washington took any notice early last century, when Whitehall established its own Arab language school in Lebanon. It was one of the best in its day," he reckons.

Beirut's Shamlan School churned out generations of British and Commonwealth Arabists, many of whom — in commerce, industry, diplomacy or good old-fashioned spy craft — played sterling roles in maintaining steady interest in a part of the globe that seems always to have been volatile. He suggests that it's perhaps no accident that for all its problems, the British connection with the Islamic world has remained steadfast, and for many generations.

He suggests that it's no accident that London remains the financial hub of most Arab money.

courtesy Robert Baer/Crown Publishers

Robert Baer poses on Beirut's Green Line, the strip dividing the warring factions in 1987.

The Politics Of Mission

Certainly the most interesting parts of the book deal with CIA shortcomings, which if they didn't matter, would be laughable. Some are so improbable that they sound implausible. But they are not.

Following the end of the Cold War, Langley seemed to go absurd lengths to exonerate Russia from charges that it might still be spying on the United States.

Baer recalls how "Uncle Milty" his old Khartoum boss (and by then chief of the Central-Eurasian Division) informed the CIA office in Rabat, Morocco that "henceforth Russia would be treated like Germany, France, Italy or any other friendly country. 'The Cold War was over!' Period."

Of course, that was before the traitor Dick Ames was taken into custody and exposed as having caused the deaths of dozens of people working for Langley. And then Robert Hannsen of the FBI was uncovered. He had spent 21 years of working for the Russians.

"It was so obvious," Baer told *SOF.* "The man was driving a new Jaguar XJ-6. My first reaction was that nobody at the CIA owns a car like that: Ames' Jaguar must have been the only one in the parking lot!"

But what it meant was "that if the KGB *rezident* were to walk in and volunteer to tell us everything he knew, we weren't authorized to give him a nickel to catch a bus back to his embassy. Worse, it meant that the CIA had to turn away Vasili Mitrokhin, a KGB archivist who then volunteered to British intelligence and provided information that led to the identification of dozens of spies, including a U.S. colonel. You figure that one out," he declares exasperated.

Also interesting was the author's use of his own investiga-

tion for murder (he was completely cleared; it was a set-up) by the FBI, and, at one point by Secret Service, to shed new light on the complete break-down of internal security processes within the CIA. At its lowest point, he was pressurized by DO (Director of Operations) management with a psychological evaluation to determine his fitness for duty, which another former clandestine case officer, Robert D. Steele, equates to Stalinism.

Steele adds that it was a technique of declaring officers unfit for duty based on psychological hatchet jobs and was a common practice over the past two decades when Britt Snider was appointed Inspector General at the CIA.

Street Smarts And Mission Orientation

Baer could see the changes coming a long time before they began to manifest so negatively. He takes bitter pleasure in telling us about a female undercover agent working in France that he calls Becky. He had arranged to meet her and a French informant who, for years, had been a solid source of information about all sorts of dirty deeds ranging from illegal weapons shipments to snippets of information straight out of the Elysees Palace. In the narrative he calls him Jacques.

The first time Baer met with Becky and Jacques it was after the American women had decided that the spying business wasn't for her. So she handed the Frenchman over to Baer. From the start, says Baer, it was obvious that the Frenchman wasn't at all happy. In fact relations between Becky and Jacques were like ice.

So Baer sets out to repair the damage and he takes Jacques to a good restaurant where, in true James Bond style, the American displays a respectable knowledge of a good claret. Warmed up by a second bottle of "white burgundy from a *terroir* I knew," Jacques startles him by asking him if he believes in God.

"Er, no, not exactly," Baer replied, and the relief on the Frenchman's face was palpable. He went on to explain that Becky, his prior handler, was interested only in saving him from a life of sin by leading him back to Christianity. When Baer complained to his station chief he got the brush-off: Can't interfere with her First Amendment rights, he was told.

In the end, Jacques came up with the goods. One of his coups included giving the CIA information about a Swiss-British merchant of death living in Zug who was selling boatloads of *Iglas*, advanced Soviet surface-to-air missiles to Iran.

"The Frenchman got the prices, letters of credit, end-users certificates, everything."

On a lighter note he also tells of an earlier period when the agency's skunk works came up with the idea of filling a captured Soviet transport plane — Soviet markings and all — with live pigs and dropping them over Mecca, Islam's holiest city. He doesn't say whether this crazy project was ever carried out, though personally, I doubt it.

He gives other pretty graphic examples of how the agency gradually deteriorated to an organization where most of the operatives do not spend their time taking risks, but rather, wear suits, work in embassies and live in comfortable homes. The level of obfuscation got worse with each new Director of Intelligence. Judge for yourself:

"We'd ask the Paris office to put together a surveillance team to watch the apartments of a suspected terrorist, and Paris would come back and tell us it couldn't because the local intelligence service would find out. We'd ask Bonn to recruit a few Arabs and Iranians to track the Middle East émigré community in West Germany, and it would respond that it didn't have enough officers. Once we asked Beirut to meet

courtesy Robert Baer/Crown Publishers

CIA Director of Operations Dave Cohen awarding Robert Baer a Merit Unit Citation for his work in Iraq January-March of 1995.

a certain agent traveling to Lebanon and it refused because of some security problem."

As he says, "Security was never *not* a problem in Beirut, for God's sake. Instead of fighting terrorists, we were fighting bureaucratic inertia, an implacable enemy... Analysts were in charge, which was insane. People who'd never met an agent in their lives, didn't know what a dead drop was and rarely traveled out of the Washington metropolitan area were (and are) directing field offices abroad on how to run their cases. It was like assigning a hospital administrator to head the surgical team," Baer argues.

Working Beirut — On The Ground

Some of the best work of his career — and among the most interesting chapters of *See No Evil* — has a Beirut backdrop. As he says, "maybe it sounds wacky, but I loved working in Beirut. Instead of dealing with the distractions of headquarters, the meetings and the paperwork that ate up time, I would move around on the streets, where I had always been more comfortable."

At one stage he was able to get to the core of Iranian subterfuge in the Beqa' Valley, using a local contact that he spent time cultivating to get him to the ancient city of Baalbek, then the serpents' nest of all Ayatollah Khomeini's interests in Lebanon. It was during this visit that he unknowingly came within yards of the compound then holding the kidnapped CIA chief in Beirut, Bill Buckley, who was later executed.

From the start, Baer was terribly shaken by the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in that city almost 20 years ago — a debacle that cost the CIA the lives of several of his buddies. Having seen the effects of that totalitarian brand of terrorism, he spent years piecing together the leads, almost as an obsession to get at the truth. It took a long time, but based on human, documentary and circumstantial evidence, he finally reached a conclusion in his last months at Langley

Continued on page 81

"Island America"

Continued from page 43

They staved in the oil pits during all daylight hours, attending to mission-related duties and taking their meals after dark. Each man assigned to the mission was known by his last name, no rank references were made.

They Also Serve ...

For three long weeks the gunnery crews of Battery C held out in the oil pits waiting for the Japs to return, but they never did. The gun sections then rejoined their comrades of the 143rd at Santa Barbara, and until the end of the year rotated on coastal defense, before going to Ft. Lewis for training and overseas duty.

Although American military defenses were spread painfully thin, coastal defenses had been quickly organized, predicated on the assumption that any major Japanese attack would be mounted from the sea. Large-scale blimp patrols were established, and the Coast Guard borrowed horses (and trainers) from the Army Cav to patrol the coastline. Military reserve units, state guard units and assorted civilian and quasi-military units organized as a first line of defense, and high-speed highways were built from military centers to the coast to improve reaction time to an invasion that would not come to the lower 48. Aside from the fact Tokyo realized they would have trouble holding any territory they might gain at the end of their logistical pipeline, they did not understand how weak were American defenses at the time of Pearl Harbor — and they were aware of a consideration illustrated by the fact that all attempted airline hijackings subsequent to 9-11 have been thwarted by, or with the help of, pissed-off Americans, who *will* fight when they have to.

Whether Tojo Or Terrorists — Call Their Bluff

The many Japanese attacks on the American mainland, then, were largely bluff and harassment — and their overall ineffectiveness made it an easy bluff to call, dashing Japanese hope of our diverting resources from the war in the Pacific.

Just as they are now having their way with the 9-11 disaster, conspiracy theorists have worked mightily in the information vacuum of early WWII to fit the imponderability of undisclosed events into patterns of various conspiracies. Or, if not conspiracies, then at least unwholesome cover-ups.

One must always bear in mind, however, that a handful of individual facts do not necessarily combine into a whole truth just because this fact fits that fact, and that fact fits a third, etc. All the individual bits of data must be in harmony with all the other data, not just with one another, if the composite pieces of data are to be dove-tailed into a whole "fact."

In the specific case of the imponderables and apparent inconsistencies involved in the Japanese shelling of Goleta, or the Battle of Los Angeles, one must acknowledge he is working from an incomplete data base, and review them all in light of the Murphy factor. Things observed by rational and intelligent folks are not necessarily accurate, and things planned or done by rational and intelligent men based on their own incomplete information don't always make sense in hindsight.

But things don't have to "make sense" to be true. The flow of history, guided more by human nature than by human planning, often does not.

Frank Hopkins is a frequent contributor to SOF.

Scrawl Of The Wild War

Continued from page 33

dle of Shithole, Somalia, where troops strung up a Jeep-sized tarp used as a sun shade with this greeting to its non-existent visitors: "WELCOME TO BARDERA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, HOME OF TASK FORCE 1/7 AND NOTHING ELSE!"

So, while our world changed on 11 September 2001, military graffiti really has not. The messages and the media remained the same. Even the fact that our soldiers took personal laptops and digital cameras into the field did not change their scrawl of the wild. The following were reported to me personally by military personnel and war correspondents, directly from Afghanistan or Pakistan:

"VENI, VIDI, KA-BOOM"
"SADDAM DRINKS MOGEN DAVID"
"SHOOT IF YOU LOVE PEACE" (scrawled in English on a Northern Alliance tank)
"WE MISS YOU, OSAMA, BUT OUR AIM IS IMPROVING"
"TO WIN THIS WAR FAST, BRING 100 LOUISIANA COONASSES OVER HERE, TELL THEM THE TALIBAN ARE OUT OF SEASON AND THE LIMIT IS TWO"
"WHERE ARE THE FUCKING ESCALATORS?" (sign in Tora Bora mountain area)
"I'M A STAFF PUKE, YOU WANT FRIES WITH THAT?"

A tough Special Forces veteran told me, "I have personally written 'NYPD WAS HERE' on every Taliban position and building I could. I used cammie paint, of course."

He added that our Special Forces guys were putting American flag, NYPD and NYFD stickers on every available surface — including bodies.

As B.L.A. Reynolds, an IndieNews reporter, told me, "I saw American Special Ops troops putting NYFD and NYPD patches on Taliban bodies. Also, they used Magic Markers to write the name of a World Trade Center or Pentagon casualty on the forehead of each Taliban corpse.

And, here are more fresh from the Middle East:

"MULLAHS EAT PORK, RANGERS EAT PUSSY"
"ANYONE WHO FUCKS A RAGHEAD IS TOO LAZY TO MASTURBATE"
"SADDAM IS A SPLINTER IN AMERICA'S ASS"
"OSAMA — ENDANGERED FECES"
"THE TALIBAN IS THE UNWILLING LED BY THE UNQUALIFIED AND DYING FOR THE UNGRATEFUL"
"PEACE WAS KIA" (sign in Palestinian territory)
"TALIBAN EAT SHIT, AND THEY'RE WELL FED"

Graffiti are today's first-hand expressions of the people who are out there on point. Maybe the brass ought to put aside their public opinion polls and start reading the barracks and stall walls.

A friend of mine just e-mailed me that he saw an Army humvee rolling along ahead of him toward Kabul with a home-printed bumper sticker which read: "I BRAKE FOR FLASHBACKS."

Maybe the Magic Marker is more powerful than the Sword, but it's not as permanent.

However, graffiti shall overcome, so keep your loaded Marker at-the-ready, your mind sharp, and write, baby, write.

J. David Truby was a combat intelligence NCO for the U.S. Army many, many, many years ago. Later, he was a war correspondent and one of SOF's pioneer contributors.

Urban Sprawl Warriors

Continued from page 55

reconnaissance, finding the target and closing-in quickly. Situation, time frame, and terrain are going to dictate which is going to be used. The majority of the times, *both* are used. Teams try to sneak up upon their enemy, and then go dynamic utilizing speed, surprise, and violence of action. There are no right and wrong ways, just good and better. If it worked and the mission was accomplished without any of the team or hostages getting killed, it was right. If not, it was wrong.

Tactics are constantly evolving. Teams communicate with one another about what worked and what didn't. The special operations world is a relatively close-knit community, with teams many times working together on certain missions.

The operators mounting the offensive on — and in — the caves of Tora Bora, Afghanistan will more than likely be using CQB principals and tactics. Fighting in an enclosed area, whether it be an apartment building, caves, or warehouse requires the same principals especially in a low-light environment with multiple threats.

Most of the tactics that are used in MOUT and Enhanced MOUT, as well as by the police officer responding to a building alarm, have trickled down from the special operations community. Such room-entry tactics as the button-hook, cross, and longwall at one time were considered "high-speed, low-drag" now are the norm. The same goes for weapons systems and gear. If the "cool guys" are doing it and using it, it must be good, and everyone wants it. In order to combat terrorism we need to stay proactive in nature as opposed to our usual stance as reactive in nature. We must also stay one step ahead of our adversaries. The military community will continue to push the envelope and as new tactics, principals, concepts, ideas and gear are devised; old ones will be handed down, and the law enforcement and military communities will all improve as a whole and thus will defeat our enemies.

Freedom and the American way of life will prevail.

The author is an expert on counter-terrorism and guerrilla warfare. When not writing for Soldier Of Fortune, *he is training and working with the military and law enforcement.*

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Spying

Continued from page 77

As he says, picking up the trail of the embassy bombing was like putting together a Roman mosaic scattered in an earthquake and scorched by fire. You had no idea what was a lead and what wasn't.

In the end, he declares, "I unraveled the ... bombing, at least to my satisfaction: Iran ordered it and a *Fatah* network carried it out."

The story doesn't end there. Washington ended up building a new embassy in Beirut, a two-story villa, 100 yards from the skeleton of the old one and this became one of the most heavily protected properties in the world.

"The 10 acres of land surrounding it were covered with a sea of coiled razor wire, fortified bunkers, watchtowers, machine-gun positions and sandbagged trenches. Foot-thick steel walls cushioned the villa from artillery and rockets. Anti-rocket screens covered the roof. With more than 600 hundred local guards, the U.S. Embassy had the fourth largest standing militia in the country: An armored division would have had to fight hard to capture it."

However, the ring of protection extended only so far, he says. During the previous three years — part of the time during which Baer was working there — the CIA had lost two chiefs, another five of its officers and plenty of agents. In the same period 37 foreigners were taken hostage, a half-a-dozen of them executed.

He gives the reader a grim indication of the true intentions of Yassir Arafat. Graphically he depicts the movement's historic ties and support, not only for the Ayatollah, but also to the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood as well as a dozen other shady groups. He points out that in 1972 Arafat and Khomeini signed an accord in Najaf, Iraq to train Islamic fighters at Fatah camps in South Lebanon, some of these in Tyre, a hotbed of *Hizbollah* activity today.

"Almost every leader of the Iranian revolution passed through these camps, from Khomeini's son, Ahmad Khomeini, to Mustafa Chamran, the first commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards or *Pasdaran*. When the Shah fled Iran in January 1979, and Khomeini returned to Tehran two weeks later, it wasn't in the least bit surprising that the first telephone call that the Ayatollah received was from Arafat."

He also tells us that almost nine months later, on 19 October 1979 — two weeks before the Iranians seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran — Arafat flew there to congratulate Khomeini in person.

"I think of all that when I see Arafat standing in the Rose Garden at the White House, or when I hear that a CIA director has met privately with him at some desert tent. I wonder sometimes if Arafat's example doesn't make Osama bin Laden consider that he, too, might become a statesman in time."

Baer's revelations about the arch-terrorist Imad Mughniyah — today Head of Special Security, an organization linked to Hizbollah — and who has been demonstrated by Baer to have strong ties not only to Fatah but, more recently, also to bin Laden, deserves a book of its own.

Robert Baer: *See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism;* Crown Publishers, New York; 2002.

Al Venter is a frequent contributor to Soldier Of Fortune *magazine.*

Sound Off

BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH (RET.)

No License To Steal

Sadly, most World War II vets, whose sacrifices brought us VE and VJ Day, will hear taps long before we celebrate VT (Victory over Terrorism) Day. And the rest of our citizens will feel the pain of this terrible war for decades. Not only from more deaths and further disruption of the good life, but from the financial burden that will rob medical and social programs and tear up family savings.

"In all history, there is no instance of a country having benefited from prolonged warfare," wrote Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu more than 2,500 years ago. "Only one who knows the disastrous effects of a long war can realize the supreme importance of rapidity in bringing it to a close. It is only one who is thoroughly acquainted with the evils of war who can thoroughly understand the profitable way of carrying it on."

For sure, this war will not be Desert Storm-short. Long before Israel became a state in 1948, its people were fighting terrorists just as they are still doing today — with an end to the bloodshed nowhere in sight.

But President Bush and his Pentagon wranglers deserve high marks for the well-aimed first shots fired and for gearing up to go the distance in this worldwide unconditional war against terrorism — that like cancer must be cut out wherever it festers — beginning with the countries they've retagged as this century's "Axis of Evil": Iran, Iraq and North Korea. These repressive states have dealt in violence against free, civilized peoples for decades and should be taken out with the same speed and purpose as was employed against the last century's evil Axis — Germany, Japan and Italy.

Members of the Bush team must not only fight smart but stay as sharply focused on containing the costs of this conflict as they are on finding and fighting the enemy. If they think the war's given them license to raid the public purse, they should revisit the Vietnam War and think again. Bush is seeking almost $400 billion for the Pentagon for next year and plans to increase the annual defense budget to about $440 billion by 2007 — more for guns and gunpowder than the rest of the world combined will be spending over the same period.

Sure, our fighting machine has atrophied during the past decade and needs money in a bad way to take care of the troops, replace worn-out gear and transform the military into a leaner, meaner fighting machine with more unpiloted aircraft and ever-more-modern weapons.

But we can't break Bank USA by using million-dollar weapons to kill $5,000 targets, as was done in Afghanistan. Nor can we allow the Pentagon to spend big on Cold War stuff — designed to take down the Soviet Union, which crashed a decade ago — like the half-billion-dollar heavy Crusader artillery system, the billion-dollar new reconnaissance helicopter, or the $5 billion budgeted to buy F-22 Stealth fighters. We don't need 800-ton gorillas to take out 30-pound rats.

Most of the congressional porkers are afraid to stand tall and stop this the-enemy-is-at-the-gates spending spree. They don't want to come off as opposing a military buildup when their fickle constituency has war fever. And besides, there's the dough that'll be pumped into their states — not to mention their re-election coffers — for all this so-called "urgent anti-terrorist war gear."

We've got to start putting our money in the right places, not the right pockets. Like making our cities and our ports of entry — air, sea and ground — terrorist-proof instead of wasting another $60 billion on Star Wars II.

Why shouldn't our ports be at least half as tight as the Super Bowl?

And why aren't the Marines, Special Operations, Coast Guard, FBI and Border Patrol more sensible investments than most of those gold-plated toys at the top of the Pentagon's shopping list?

"In war, then, let your object be victory, not lengthy campaigns," Sun Tzu wrote. "(T)he leader of armies is the arbiter of the people's fate, the man on whom it depends whether the nation shall be in peace or peril."

Our leader is George Bush. Let's hope he's read Sun Tzu, or at least listened to the LBJ tapes.

http://www.hackworth.com is the address of David Hackworth's home page.

Hackworth's novel, *The Price of Honor*, is now available.


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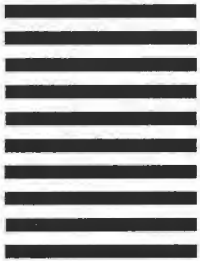

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